618 eldest son chosen and appointed. In one such case, in
578 the clan of the Na T'u-ssu, four T'u-ssu of other clans
611 were invited in to arbitrate, and after discussions which lasted many days the son of a rich man, the third brother of the T'u-ssu who had just died, was agreed on and appointed by the clan.

175 According to the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 24, p. 8) the last T'u-ssu of the Ming period in the clan of Li, of the
618 line founded by Li Nan-ko, was a man named Li Hua-
578 lung, who died without issue. Li T'ien-yu, the first
611 cousin of Li Hua-lung who had just died, belonging to the same generation in order of descent from the clan ancestor, and of the same house, laid claim to the succession. In order to put an end to trouble within the family, one hundred families of commoners out of the four thousand belonging to the T'u-ssu were given to the contending claimant Li Hua-nao, and consenting to a petition from the nobles who were his relatives in the clan, the Manchu Emperor bestowed on him the title of T'u-ssu. Thus Li Hua-nao became the "founding ancestor" of a new clan, with one hundred families of commoners as subjects.

618 Thus while the historical material seems to show that in most cases the choice and appointment of a new chief of the clan are a mere formality, there are also instances that seem to prove that the rule of succession is not always clear-cut, especially when the T'u-ssu dies without male issue. In any case, a daughter never succeeds because the clans are built on a strictly patrilineal family system with male chieftaincy. In this respect, as will be seen below in the chapter dealing with family organization, the rules of ordinary family succession tally with those that govern the succession of the chief of the clan, and the head of the family presides over religious cult practices within the family as the chief presides within the clan.

In case the succeeding son is still a minor, however, his mother is appointed regent by the sovereign state, formerly the Empire and later the Republic. This custom seems to prove that the senior son, even if still a minor, has a specific claim to succeed his father.

There is a discrepancy between the Monguor rule of succession as far as it can be checked by historical documents and an ancient Mongol custom that prevailed up to the time of Chingis Khan, under which the eldest son received his portion of the inheritance while his parents were still living and moved away to live as the head of his own family; the next son, in due course, similarly left the parental camp, and finally the youngest son was left to care for his parents in their old age and to receive the residual inheritance. Under this custom, the original tent, camp, and herds remained with the youngest son, while the most distant related camp was that of his eldest brother, who had moved away first and farthest. Barthold, commenting on this custom, notes that Chingis Khan, during his lifetime, endowed his sons and other relations with appanages, and that Juchi,

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581 565 a well-to-do family needing more work done in the household arranges for a son who is still a child to marry a grown-up girl. It is not surprising that such marriages are frequently followed by the elopement of the poor bride with a lover of her own choosing. The 583 case corresponding to that of the bride brought into the family for the sake of her working power is that of the 587 poor young man who goes to work in a family not his own, perhaps for years, in order to earn a bride from that family. To work for a bride in this manner is to lose a certain amount of status socially, since it requires that the young man live in a household where all the male members of the family have status and rights, and he alone is an outsider. A widow usually becomes the second wife of one of her husband's brothers if the family is still living united, but not if the brothers have already divided their inheritance and are living separately. More and more, in the decline of the old Monguor society, it has become usual for the widow to make her own choice of a second husband. If, instead of going to one of her husband's brothers, she marries a man of her own choice, it is customary for her new husband to bring her home secretly and at night, for fear that she may be kidnapped on the road by some other aspiring lover—a practice that seems to indicate that an unprotected widow is, or was in the past, "fair game."

583 588 Two exceptional kinds of marriage I have dealt with in my previous study, *Le mariage chez les T'ou-jen*. These are the "marriage to the pole," when a girl remains in the family in which she was born, but takes lovers and bears children, who instead of having the clan name of their father or fathers inherit the clan name of their mother's brothers and are treated as if they belonged to the patrilineal clan; and the "marriage to the girdle" when a girl, unmarried and living in her own family, has relations with a guest, who leaves her his girdle to which she may be "married" if she becomes pregnant.[3] Both of these customs appear to have been borrowed by the Monguors from the Tibetans.

The price paid for the bride is the subject of considerable negotiations between the families concerned, conducted by a go-between. It is usual for a girl to be a couple of years older than her husband, and the usual age for marriage is when the boy is fourteen, fifteen, or sixteen. Divorce and repudiation by the husband are rather rare.[4]

THE POSITION OF WOMEN

562 581 The status of the wife is inferior to that of the husband, as is inevitable in a society in which social rights and family property are regarded as belonging primarily

[3] See above, p. 78, n. 5.

[4] Here only a few data are given about marriage customs, since I have already published an extensive monograph on this subject; see *Le mariage chez les T'ou-jen (Monguors) du Kan-sou.*

562
581

to the male side of the family. When a girl marries, her family is regarded, not as "acquiring" relations-in-law, but as "losing" the girl; hence the fundamental attitude that the husband's family is "buying" the girl and her own family "selling" her. Since by this transfer her labor and productive power are lost to the family in which she was born, the family, in arranging the match, attempts to recover the capital value of the girl and this makes it impossible to consider her wishes in making the marriage. The interests of the family come first. The same considerations apply both to the inheritance of a widow by one of her husband's brothers, and the comparable custom, known to have been observed in the ancient Mongol society from which the Monguors are descended, under which a son inherited the wives of his father, except for his own mother. Both customs can clearly be referred to the view that these women, having been acquired at the expense of the family or clan, must be retained within the family. To the Chinese the idea that a son should inherit his father's secondary wives is abhorrent, and therefore the disappearance of this custom probably began when the Monguors submitted to the Ming dynasty, although the dying out of the custom must also have been encouraged by the decrease of polygamy for reasons that have been described above.

Wives accept their inferior status without resentment. Their individual outlook is conditioned by the social atmosphere in which they have been brought up. When they were children, they realized that women were more proud of bearing sons than daughters. They knew that women who had no sons felt inferior. When they were big enough to work, they lived, worked, and ate in the kitchen with the daughters-in-law, while the male members of their family ate in the main room. Even if an uncle or brother took his meal in the kitchen, he had to be served respectfully by the womenfolk. Girls grew up accustomed to the rule that they could eat only after the men had finished. Consequently, a Monguor girl does not expect to find anything different in the family into which she marries.

Inferior status does not mean that a wife can be considered a slave. On this subject I cannot agree with the many writers who have maintained that among the pastoral nomadic societies of Asia the status of a wife is essentially that of a slave, and that the slave status derives from an anciently universal practice of marriage by capture. We know from history—for example, from the *Secret History of the Mongols*—that wives were captured. We know also that in the marriage customs of the pastoral Mongols of today there are ceremonies or practices that suggest a tradition of marriage by capture. We know also that the capture of women was one of the causes of the chronic warfare among the Mongols of old; but all of this does not prove that capture was the sole and universal method of acquiring wives. The

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562 chronic warfare among the ancient Mongols and Turks required alliances as well as feuds.
581 Hence the institution, known to be very early, of "pairs" of clans, each regularly taking its wives from the other in a sort of marriage alliance.[5] An association of this kind was a natural basis for alliance in war, since each clan would not only be aiding an ally but contributing to the security of its own daughters.[6]

512 Among pastoral nomads the traditional life of the
181 man, especially the married man, is one of long periods of idleness, spent largely in gossip and visiting, alternating with short periods of intense activity—in former times, defensive and offensive warfare, and in modern times the periods of migration, especially spring and autumn migration, and the periods spent by a man when he is summoned for obligatory service under the clan or tribal chief. The Monguors, as descendants of nomads, have inherited this tradition. The Monguor men, however, because of the change to an agricultural economy, cannot be quite as lazy as pastoral nomads. Farming cannot be profitable unless the men do their share of the work; but in spite of the example of patient toil set them by their Chinese neighbors, the Monguor men are never as industrious as the Chinese.

512 In the home, the kitchen and all things concerning
462 food, the preparation of meals and cleaning up after meals are women's work. Women also collect the fuel, consisting chiefly of the droppings of cows, horses, and sheep, which after being collected have to be dried in the sun until they are combustible. In the early morning when the cocks are still crowing to announce the coming day the wives start working while their husbands go on sleeping. First the wife must go to the well with a wooden cask on her back to fetch water. Then she boils water in the iron cauldron, set in the hearth, to make tea. While she is making the tea she carries hot water to her husband for washing. While the husband is drinking his early morning tea the wife dresses and washes the children, prepares breakfast and carries a

[5] Vladimirtsov, *Le régime social des Mongols*, as cited, 58. "Les Mongols des XIe–XIIIe siècles devaient parfois aller chercher très loin leurs femmes, et s'accorder avec un clan éloigné. En effect, . . . les pâturages étaient distribuées de telle manière chez les anciens Mongols, que souvent on ne rencontrait aux alentours aucun répresentant d'un clan étranger. . . . Ceci explique, les réminiscences anciennes aidant, la fréquence des rapts; les femmes etaient enlevées de force chaque fois que l'occasion favorable s'en présentait.

"On relève fréquemment l'usage pour un clan de choisir ses promises dans un autre clan, mais toujours le même. Les membres de ces clans s'accordent mutuellement le titre d' 'allié,' de parent par alliance, '*quda*.' Parfois l'échange des jeunes filles à marier donne lieu à des traités en règle entre clans." (Note that side by side with the word *quda* there is the word which in modern Mongol is *hadam* and in Monguor *gadim*—see the Monguor relationship terms as given above—which expresses "relationship with a woman married into my clan, or a man who has married a woman from my clan."—O. L.)

[6] It is possible that this kind of association also helps to account for the importance of the maternal uncle, as "the man who has interest in both clans."—O. L.

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603 462 592 606 coming serious. At the same time, a grandmother is a woman who by age and rank is entitled to be a little cranky and to have her peculiar ways. If she cannot keep the peace and maintain order among the daughters-in-law, she appeals to the grandfather, who orders the husband of the woman who is considered at fault to tackle the problem by admonishing his wife or if necessary by beating her.

Generally speaking, however, such little incidents within the family do not turn out to be serious; a daughter-in-law is expected to be demure and obedient, to hold her tongue and not to display jealousy, but at the same time it is considered only human to allow her to display a little bit of "temperament" from time to time.

562 In spite of the fact that Monguor women do very heavy work, they are usually happy and contented and it is the normal thing for husband and wife, even though they did not make their own marriage, to have real respect and love for each other. In their own little family within the extended family husband and wife usually talk everything over together, giving the wife the feeling that she has a responsible part in their joint concerns; while, as for the husband, it is easy for him to be fond of a wife who is so obedient and works so hard.

In public, Monguor women retain enough of the old nomad tradition to be much more free, especially in their attitudes to and conversations with men, than Chinese women. While they are bound by strict rules of etiquette and are likely to be rebuked by their elders, especially at home, if they infringe these rules, they are not in public at a loss how to behave when they encounter a man; they feel perfectly free to talk with him and they do not blush or look in the other direction, as old-fashioned Chinese women used to do. They enjoy going to the big public festivals at the lamaseries, and to the annual assembly of the clan; they like to sit on the grass in mixed groups, men and women together, talking, laughing, singing, watching dances, and making merry. A woman is not embarrassed to sing a song in public; and when she is dressed in her best clothes she likes to stroll, preening herself, through the crowd, displaying her costume and her magnificent headdress. Nor are women afraid to do their own shopping; at the fairs they confidently examine the wares for sale and hold their own in bargaining over prices. In the country Monguors do not consider it shocking to see a man riding to his fields with his wife riding pillion behind him; and during the long and tedious work of weeding man and wife both like to sing in the open air.

It is perhaps worth making a few brief comparisons between the status of men and women in the Monguor society and in the greater Mongol society from which the Monguors derive. In the thirteenth century William of Rubruck reported of the Mongols that:

> It is the duty of the women to drive the carts, get the dwellings on and off them, milk the cows, make butter and

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562 *gruit*[7] and to dress and sew skins, which they do with a thread made of tendons. They divide the tendons into fine shreds, and then twist them into one long thread. They also sew the boots, the socks, and the clothing. . . . They also make the felt and cover the houses.

The men make bows and arrows, manufacture stirrups and bits, make saddles, do the carpentering on [the framework of] their dwellings and the carts, they take care of the horses, milk the mares, churn the *cosmos* or mares' milk, make the skins in which it is put; they also look after the camels and load them. Both sexes look after the sheep and the goats, sometimes the men, other times the women, milking them.[8]

Marco Polo, later in the thirteenth century, wrote:

And I tell you that the Tartar ladies trade, buy and sell and do all the work that is needed for their lords and family and for themselves.[9]

462 These comparisons are enough to show that the Monguors, both men and women, in spite of the change to agriculture, continue to divide their specialized work much as they did when they were still nomads. The men repair houses, saddles and harness for horses, mules, and donkeys; make the tools used for farming, and tan skins. In their leisure time men spin thread and twist cords and ropes. Women never kill sheep, pigs, or chickens; butchering and killing are done only by men. The fact that men do rather less work in the fields than the women has already been mentioned.

LEGENDS OF THE PAST

562 Other characteristics that Monguor women inherit from the nomad past are the ability to make decisions and take responsibility and the courage, in time of need, to fight as boldly as men. In the late twelfth century when Yesugei Bagatur, the father of Chingis Khan, was poisoned by some of his enemies, most of his followers

[7] *Gruit* is Rubruck's rendering of the Mongol word *hurud*, from which comes the Russian word *krut*.—O. L.

[8] *The journey of William of Rubruck to the eastern parts of the world*, 1253–55, with two accounts of the earlier journey of John of Pian de Carpine, translated and edited by W. W. Rockhill, 75–76, London, 1890. Rockhill footnotes with cross-references to Pian de Carpine. The word *cosmos* is, of course, the well known word *kumys*, which is Turkish rather than Mongol. See also Lama Galsan-Gomboev, *O drevnikh mongol'skikh obychayakh i sueveriyakh, opisannykh u Plano-Karpini*, in *Trudy*, Eastern Section, Imperial Archaeological Society, 4, St. Petersburg, 1859, for comparisons of thirteenth century survivals and echoes in Mongolia.—O. L.

[9] Vladimirtsov *op. cit.* In the Russian original, Vladimirtsov quoted from Pauthier's 1865 edition of Marco Polo. In the French edition, the translator adds the quotation as here given from the 1938 edition of Marco Polo by A. C. Moule and Paul Pelliot 1: 169, London, Routledge, 1938. To these citations may be added the generalized description of pastoral nomadism in W. Schmidt and W. Koppers, *Völker und Kulturen*, 236, 524. For the Mongols of the Ordos region of Inner Mongolia, see P. Van Oost, *Au pays des Ortos*, cited, 102. For the Manchus and Tungus, whose ancient habitat was in the forest rather than the open grassland, see S. M. Shirokogoroff, *Social organization of the northern Tungus*, 263, Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1933; also the same, *Social organization of the Manchus*, already cited, 105, 122.

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562 deserted, but his widow "was a woman of wisdom and decision. She assembled the small number of men that had remained loyal, raised the banner with the signs of Yesugei Bagatur, and started in pursuit of the seceders. She succeeded even in making part of them return . . . "[10] and though she failed in the end, her courage has remained a Mongol legend. Similarly, Shirokogoroff notes of the Khingan Tungus in Manchuria that "even the women maintain the clan honor and fight if necessary."[11]

562 173 The women of the Monguors have legends that are in this tradition. I have recorded one of them in my previous study, *Le mariage chez les T'ou-jen*, describing the captivating song sung at Monguor marriages and at all festivals, recalling the daring exploit of the wife of the chief of the Lu clan, who killed a brigand chief and was rewarded by the emperor. The story goes that the country between Liangchou and P'ingfan was infested by the brigand Ta Kuan-ch'ün[12] and his followers and all communications between the two cities were cut. In this crisis, the wife of the Lu T'u-ssu lured the bandits into an ambush. She pitched a tent, spread red felt rugs out on the ground, and dressed some of her maids in transparent gowns. Wearing golden bracelets, playing musical instruments, and singing local songs, they "welcomed" the bandits. When the bandits were drunk, the maids beat copper cooking cauldrons as a signal and the soldiers who had been lying in ambush rushed out and loaded the chief of the bandits, his lieutenants, and seven others with chains. When the captives recovered from their drunken stupor and began to struggle, the soldiers flogged them to death, cut off their heads, and set them up on posts along the highway of Wuchaoling. The brother of the brigand chief, when he heard the news, cut his own throat. The brave wife of the T'u-ssu then sent troops to exterminate the rest of the brigands or force them to submit.

When the emperor heard of this exploit, he presented the noble lady with a thousand ounces of silver, precious golden ornaments, a complete set of hairpins and ear-

[10] B. Ya. Vladimirtsov, *The life of Chingis-Khan*, 14-15, English translation, London, Routledge, 1930.

[11] S. M. Shirokogoroff, *Social organization of the northern Tungus*, 196.

[12] There is a possibility that this name is a corruption of the Chinese expression *kuang-kun* prefixed by the Chinese word *ta*, "big." In H. A. Giles, *A Chinese-English dictionary*, second edition, Shanghai and London, Kelley and Walsh, Bernard Quaritch, 1912, under number 6389, *kuang-kun* is given as "a bare pole—a swindler; a scoundrel." In the north China vernacular, however, the expression has the meaning "a tough," "a gangster," and in this meaning it has passed into more than one of the frontier languages of China. Father A. Mostaert, in his *Dictionnaire Ordos* 1: 292a, records it in the form *gangun* with the meanings "vaurien, trompeur; qui se conduit mal, volage, leger de conduit; libertinage," and also records a verb formed from the noun. C. P. Skrine, *Chinese Central Asia*, 212-214, London, Methuen, 1926, records it in the form "Gangung" as part of the name of a swashbuckler, with the meaning of "brigand," in a Turki ballad from Kashgar.—O. L.

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rings and four pieces of flowered silk. He ordered his officials to build her a seven-storied mansion at Lien-ch'eng. She was also presented with an inscription reading "She displayed faithfulness," and given a grant of fifty *ch'ing* of land, the revenues of which were to provide her with "toilet expenses," the Chinese expression equivalent to the English "pin money." The grant of land, according to the family chronicle of the Lu T'u-ssu, was in the country of *chun ku erh*.[13] There are also legends of the bravery of the Monguor women during the great Muslim rebellion who joined in the battle just as their husbands were beginning to retreat, and thus turned defeat into victory. According to popular tradition, it was for this exploit that the emperor himself designed the costume that Monguor women wear on ceremonial occasions, including a sleeveless "military" jacket, military skirt, and a miniature shield and spear as part of the headdress.

In spite of all these legendary tributes to their ability, however, Monguor women do not play a conspicuous part in politics or administration; with the exception, already noted, that when a T'u-ssu dies leaving a son who has not come of age, the boy's mother acts as regent.

THE MATERNAL UNCLE

The relationship between two families connected by marriage is most clearly seen in the role of the maternal uncle, who while not a part of the family of his sister's child exerts, nevertheless, a powerful influence over his sister's child and over the family into which his sister's child is born.

In discussing the role of the maternal uncle, I shall divide my remarks into two parts, dealing first with the most striking aspects of his role, and secondly with the context in which these prominent aspects occur. Since the facts which are to be presented have considerable theoretical importance for the problem of possible matriarchal survivals in a patriarchal kinship system, I shall conclude my observations with a short theoretical analysis.

Among the Monguors the special rights of the maternal uncle were most vividly manifest in three circumstances: (1) at the natural death of his sister's children (2) in the event of their having been murdered or having committed suicide, and (3) in situations where they were subject to punishment.

[13] These three Chinese syllables are one of the regular transcriptions of the Mongol term *jun gar*, "left hand" or "left wing." This expression reflects the usual Mongol practice of dividing territories and military organizations into a left (east) and a right (west) wing (the south being "front" and the north "back"). This expression is the origin of the name of the Jungar Mongols, who were the "left wing" of the confederation of Western Mongols in the region of the Altai mountains and the northern part of Sinkiang Province which is therefore still known, in the Western literature, as Jungaria or Zungaria. In this case, however, the reference may be to land taken from some of the Jungar Mongols who eventually migrated into the pastures of the Tibetan plateau near the country of the Monguors.—O. L.

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604 because she will eventually marry into another family; she and her children will bear another surname and she will be buried not in the graveyard of her family of origin, but in the graveyard of her husband's family. If she is killed or commits suicide she has none the less to have her avenger, but since she is an *outsider*, it is appropriate that the brother of her mother assume this duty. Her paternal kinsmen are expected to avenge her death also, but only as second best, following in the wake of the maternal uncles."

When I objected to this explanation on the grounds that in the case of the murder or suicide of Jean's brothers, Bob and Bill, who were not outsiders of the Ch'i family, Joe, their maternal uncle, would have been the leaders of the avengers in precisely the same way, the Monguors answered politely that I was an *outsider* and did not understand the importance of the maternal uncle inside the orbit of the Monguor family.

Other Monguors, in order to support and justify the custom, gave me a most confused and inappropriate explanation: "Brothers and sisters are children of the same bone; members of the same bone have the duty of avenging and protecting each other and upon the most closely related among them the duty was most incumbent and most urgent." This much of the explanation is an aberration which in fact explains the old nomadic and not the Monguor vengeance pattern. From this the explanation went on to say, quite illogically: "Therefore, a mother's brother must protect his sister's children, sisters must respect their brothers, and sister's children are taught to respect and honor their mother's brothers."

This attempt at explanation indicates to me that the Monguors were confused in their thinking on this point, and had not been able to fit this aspect of the role of the maternal uncle consistently into the framework and principles of their patrilineal family system. I am led to suspect that the acknowledgment by them of his right was due to the presence, within their patrilineal society, of principles specific to the matriarchal system.

604 562 What other evidence do we have of such an intrusion? I have previously noted many of them in *Le Mariage chez les T'ou-jen*, chapter VI: (1) the abnormal rights of the mother to decide herself about the marriage of her daughter; her consent had to be given even when her daughter was a widow and belonged to the family of her former husband, (2) the right of the mother, in case of the marriage of her son, to go herself to ask for his wife and to fix the date of the marriage before the go-between enters into the action, (3) the fact that in marriages between poor families, the mother-in-law herself went on the last day of the year to bring her future daughter-in-law to her home, (4) the unusual ease in adopting into a family children born of a daughter-in-law who had eloped many years before with a lover, (5) the exceptional marriages with the pole or girdle, so usual with the neighboring Tibetans, (6) the fact that a newborn son was called according to the age of his grand-

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604 562 mother, (7) the unusual fact that young boys worked for years or for a whole lifetime in the home of their father-in-law in order to marry his daughter. These leave no doubt that the patriarchal family system of the Monguors had been contaminated by many practices belonging to the matriarchal system.

604 562 177 What contact did the Monguors have with matriarchal systems?[20a] It is significant that the Monguors in Kansu were not only separated from other Mongols, but were living in the neighborhood of Tibetans and Chinese, and moreover had many of these people enrolled in their clans. Certain features of the Tibetan and Chinese social institutions appear to have been incorporated into the Monguor social organization. Among the Tibetans, the matriarchal system was in full bloom and marriages between Monguors and Tibetans opened the doors for admitting matriarchal customs into the daily routine of life to a very large extent.

The readiness of the Monguors to adopt a whole series of matriarchal traits from the Tibetans is even more understandable in view of the fact that the ancestors of the Mongols and Turks lived at the dawn of history in the neighborhood of peoples practicing the matriarchal system and their patriarchal family system was at that time already contaminated.[21]

Professor Eberhard, doubting the former existence of a "pure" and "original" patriarchal system among the Mongols and Turks, writes:

> I am forced to make the statement that nowhere did I encounter a culture corresponding perfectly to one of the cultures advocated by the theory of culture circles. . . . I harbor suspicions about the real existence of such cultures; for why do we always encounter mixing and mingling of cultures in all circles? How is it possible to prove the real existence of the culture of a circle, in the manner of the system of culture circles, by other than theoretical evidence?[22]

604 177 My overall conclusions therefore are as follows: first, that the role of the maternal uncle as "master of the bones" of his sister's children—i.e. his authority, in matters of life and death, to avenge or punish them—did not originate in the Monguor patrilineal system, but constitutes a usurpation of powers which belonged in another society to members of the same *bone*. Second,

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[20a] In this connection, see the outstanding study by Wilhelm Koppers, Die Frage des Mutterrechts und des Totemismus im alten China, *Anthropos* 8: 981 sqq., 1930.

[21] W. Schmidt, *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee* 9, Part 3, Die Religionen der Hirtenvölker: 71, Münster, Aschendorf, 1949. W. Eberhard, *Lokalkulturen im alten China*, 176, Leiden, Brill, 1942.

[22] W. Eberhard, *Kulturen und Siedlungen der Randvölker Chinas*, 414, Leiden, Brill, 1942. ". . . so habe ich doch feststellen müssen, dass nirgends in unseren Kulturen sich eine gefunden hat, in der die Kulture 'eines' Kulturkreises volkommen und rein zutage tritt. . . . Ich habe aber doch Bedenken wenn, die Lage wirklich so ist. Wieso soll es immer nur Mischungen gegeben haben? Wodurch (ausser durch formallogische Schlüsse) ist es dann bewiesen, dass je die Kultur existiert hat, die ein solcher Kulturkreis umfasst?"

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that the assumption of this role by the maternal uncle was only one of several non-patriarchal features introduced into the Monguor system as a result of contact with matriarchal systems. Third, that the property, assistance, and respect relationships which existed between a brother and his sister and her children, as described above, were not specific to either the patriarchal or matriarchal systems, but were founded in human nature, in conditions common to both systems. Fourth, I would add that normally the sister and her children are respected and loved in the husband's family and go through life happily—more because the two families are really friendly and intimate than because of the maternal uncle's power to intervene. After all, the solid foundation of families is not fear and hatred but love, and the functions of the maternal uncle must be viewed with not only his emergency powers in mind, but this as well.

THE CHILD

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Among the Monguors, as in most societies in Asia, boys are preferred to girls. The description given by Father J. Van Oost of the favoritism shown toward boys among the Mongols of the Ordos might well have been written of the Monguors:

> He is surrounded with a kind of idolatry. His parents are proud of him; they cater to all his whims; they rush to dry his tears. A mother is always ready to suckle her son whenever he seems to want it, whether it be night or day. He is a petty tyrant who knows how to make himself obeyed, and his mother carries him around on her back when she is doing her household work. . . . If he gets sick, there is a major crisis. They think he is the victim of evil spirits. They resort to superstitious practices and go to fetch a lama who makes divinations, conjures away the spirits and prescribes remedies and talismans.[23]

843 562

When a woman is pregnant the whole village knows about it, and all of the women and girls are eagerly interested. Every soothsayer passing through the village is invited to foretell the sex of the expected child, and all the young wives ask him to foretell also when they themselves may expect a similar blessed event. When a pregnant woman enters a doorway and steps over the threshold, the other women always watch to see which foot she puts forward first. They believe that if she regularly steps over a threshold with the right foot, the child will be a boy; if it is the left foot, it will be a girl. This is because they believe that a son lies on the left side of the womb and a daughter on the right; accordingly, if the left side is heavy the mother will instinctively raise her right foot when making a step upward.[23a]

The festivities for the birth of a first son are especially important, and among the ways of propitiating fate to provide a long life, the selection of a lucky name is particularly important. Matters of such importance in the

[23] Van Oost, *Au pays des Ortos*, as cited, 102.

[23a] Compare the Mongol expression *kul kundu*, "leg-heavy," for "pregnant."—O. L.

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

843 562 842 842 164 547

society are naturally reflected in popular religion. Special deities in the lama monasteries are supposed to be interested in these affairs of mankind. The Monguors often invite lamas to help them with prayers, make vows to go on pilgrimages to far distant monasteries if they are granted a son, and give alms lavishly. Their religious interpretation is that lack of sons is a punishment for sins of the parents in previous incarnations. The condition of a childless woman is pitiable—she is always despondent and dejected and drags out a miserable existence. Not having a son means having no stake in the family and society in which she lives. Her life is lonely, for it is not easy for a childless woman to make friends. I have often had a mother come to me with her childless daughter-in-law, kneeling, weeping, and begging for medicine that will make the girl bear a child, repeating over and over again "Father, the ancestors will have no one to sacrifice to them, the family will have no posterity." Such pitiful scenes gave me an understanding of the social outlook of the people among whom I lived; I could even understand why they indulged in polygamy.

Childlessness is not common among the Monguors, however. On the contrary, a Monguor woman will frequently have six or more surviving children—an astonishingly large number, considering the great amount of hard work that the mother has to do and the fact that, owing to ignorance of the most elementary rules of hygiene, lack of doctors, and miscarriages, fully a third of the children die in early infancy. The Monguors are in fact much more prolific than their kinsmen who are still nomads. One reason for this may be the fact that they live in houses while the children of nomads living in tents are more exposed to variations of temperature. Probably a more important reason is that there is less venereal disease among the Monguors than among nomads. The lamas, most of whom are promiscuous in spite of their vows, and great carriers of venereal disease, have less opportunity to indulge themselves in the crowded and public dwellings of the Monguors than they do among the scattered tents of the nomads.[24] The neighboring Tibetans have a very high opinion of the prolificness of the Monguors. When they are childless, they prefer to adopt a Monguor boy rather than one of their own stock, and they like to marry Monguor girls because they bear more children. The Monguors have no objection to giving a girl to a Tibetan family, especially if it is a rich family.

[24] In view of the fact that venereal disease is much less common, and families much larger, among the settled agricultural Mongols of southern and eastern Inner Mongolia than among the nomad Mongols, it is also probable that the transition from nomadism to agriculture among the Monguors has led to a stricter morality. When land becomes the principal form of property, the man who owns land wants to make sure that the son who inherits it is his legitimate son, whereas among pastoral Mongols a son, regardless of legitimacy, is a new herdsman, making it possible to look after an increased number of stock.—O. L.

[P. 99-b]

291 The gown is of dark blue cotton cloth, cut from the neck down and across under the right arm, and buttoned under the arm and down the side. A woman's gown opens on the left side instead of the right, and is worn hanging down to the heels. Men wear a sash or belt, keeping the hem of the gown hanging just a little below the knees, and loosening up the breast of the gown so that it provides a capacious pocket into which they stuff their eating bowls and various odds and ends. When working at home, a man wears a gown roughly woven of white wool. A woman's working gown is woven of black and brown wool. Rich people wear a gown woven of Tibetan wool serge (*p'u-lu*). The ends of the men's sashes are seldom embroidered and on holidays they wear a vest or sleeveless jacket which is much less ornamented than that worn by women.

Men shave the front of the head and grow the hair at the back of the crown long so that it can be braided into a "pigtail" which is lengthened with green strings with tassels at the ends. They wear small, round felt hats.

302 [858] A boy's head is not shaved until he is seven or eight, at which time he begins to braid his hair in a "pigtail." A boy's costume is in general just like that of a man, but with few ornaments.

A man is not allowed to grow a beard as long as his parents are living. A man may begin to grow a beard when he is about the age of thirty if his parents died when he was relatively young. The growing of the beard is started on the first day of either the first or second moon of the new year. Some old men shave their heads clean when they reach the age of about sixty, and women of sixty also frequently cut off their long hair. Both men and women when they do this take vows like those taken by lamas and devote the rest of their lives to prayer in order to provide for a happy rebirth.

306 The only men who wear earrings are those who, described in the chapter on children, have received the "flower of longevity" from a maternal uncle in childhood. Later this "flower of longevity" is replaced by a single large silver earring.

Many men are fond of wearing a bracelet, but only on one wrist. It is usually a heavy copper ring, silver plated and carved with Chinese designs. Nearly all young people wear a bracelet on each wrist, resembling the single bracelet of a grown man. A man also hangs from his belt or sash a sheath containing a knife and chopsticks. Some of these are beautifully carved and ornamented with coral and turquoise.

A man's finger ring is made of two thin, small rings with a broad ring soldered outside them. A piece of coral or turquoise is set in this ring.

173 291 562 The national legends and traditions of the Monguors are associated much more with the striking costumes of the women than with the comparatively simple costumes of the men. Some of these legends have already been mentioned. Another concerns the Li clan of Shat'o Turkish origin which claims as its ancestor the

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

173 Prince of Chin. According to the legend this prince,
291 "blessed by heaven and all the spirits," begat thirteen
562 sons from his nine wives. Because he was fond of magnificence and display, he designed a different costume for each wife, and this is supposed to be the origin of the nine main designs of Monguor women's costume to this day.

177 The significance of the Monguor national costume even
648 in recent times is illustrated by the following story, which stirred up interest throughout the Monguor country. In 1913 the Living Buddha of the monastery of T'ient'ang Ssu [10] forbade the Monguor women living in his territory to wear their national costume and ordered them to adopt the Tibetan style of dress. Passions ran high against this order. Although the Monguors had for centuries supported the monastery with their offerings, they ceased to appear at the monastery festivals and began to make their offerings to other monasteries. Even the lamas of Monguor origin left the monastery and enrolled in other monasteries. The result was that the monastery of T'ient'ang Ssu began to enroll Chinese novices and the whole spirit of the institution was changed.

291 The costumes of the Monguor women are much more
292 elaborate and distinctive than those of the men. Like the
562 men, however, the women do not wear underclothes, nor do they have nightgowns. Their bed is a piece of felt spread on the sleeping platform; there are no sheets or pillowcases, and at night they simply undress and cover themselves with roughly woven blankets or sheepskins.

291 A woman's trousers are made of blue cotton cloth and
562 are fastened around the waist with a rope twisted of sheep's wool. On the legs of the trousers, just below the knee, there is a hem of white cotton cloth. To this hem is sewn the lower leg of the trousers which can easily be removed and replaced, when the women go to festivals, with a leg of finer cloth or of silk or satin, embroidered in red. Ordinarily, the legs of the trousers are stuffed into the tops of the boots, but the ornamental trouser leg can be worn outside the boot. As with men's trousers, the cut is that of Chinese trousers, and the tradition is that in older times trousers were not used at all. The Monguor women of the villages north of the valleys of Weiyüanp'u and Hungnaitze wear trousers only on the coldest winter days and when they go to festivals.

462 Monguor women make their own boots. The sole is
294 made of alternating layers of blue and white cotton cloth pasted together and then stitched, the foot of the boot is made of dark blue cotton cloth, sometimes beautifully embroidered, and the legs are ornamented with patches of dark leather. The foot of the boot may also be made of black cotton cloth, adorned with green

[10] For references to this monastery, see Reginald Farrar, *On the eaves of the world* and *The rainbow bridge*, London, Arnold, 1917 and 1921.

[P 119a]

/7 cont'd/

627 The argument of the judges, before the whole village and the
581 families in question, is very instructive for us. The young man, they
181 said, has not respected the customs of our race, furthermore, he has been unjust with respect to the girl's family; these are grave errors; after the principal accusers, tirades are heard on the necessity of marriage and the indigence of the unfortunate man; finally, he is excused by going back to the extreme obligation to marry. As for the girl, disobedience is censured and the rights of the parents are loudly proclaimed, but she was brave in offering the young man the chance to marry, for marriage is a duty.

We should scarcely admit such reasons; and so I remarked to my catechist and explained to him that in my opinion this was only the commonplace story of a couple who loved each other. "That is possible," he replied, "but it is certain that the young man thought above all of the duty of marriage, and it is poverty which induced him to leave with the girl; as for the girl, she was courageous." It was the same argument. I encountered therefore the same way of thinking in my catechist.

This case would probably be resolved in the same way in the West as in the East, that is to say the union would be legalized; but the motives which would be invoked would be completely different.

/8/ This fact was for me a revelation at the time, and I was able to verify it many times later; it made me acquainted with the T'ou-jen way of thinking on the subject of the general necessity for marriage.

2. Necessity for Male Descendants

858 Another mental habit among the T'ou-jen is an excessive de-
562 sire to see children born, and especially male children.
181 In Europe one is not too concerned when a family has no chil-
581 dren or when there are only girls. Among the T'ou-jen the greatest of misfortunes is the absence of male children. It is necessary to be in the Orient to "live" the text of canon law: Matrimonii finis primarius est procreatio atque educatio prolis /"The primary purpose

/8 cont'd/

858 of marriage is the procreation and rearing of offspring"/. The son is
562 the dream of the Orient. One will resign oneself to poverty, but one
181 will never be consoled for not having a son; one will be consoled over
581 the death of a husband or wife, but one will continue to weep for the loss of an only son. The fact of having no son will be interpreted as a punishment of heaven for sins committed in former lives. One will disregard expenses required for good works and pilgrimages in the interest of producing a male child. Extraordinarily noisy celebrations will be given upon the birth of a first-born son, in which the whole village will take part. The greatest happiness of a T'ou-jen woman will be that of having many sons; so that when one lives in T'ou-jen country, one thinks involuntarily of the Roman mother of the Gracchi presenting her children to her friends, saying, "Here are my jewels." One rarely sees alms refused to the numerous religious and lay beggars; it is because the terrible curse they are accustomed to offer, "Be without descendants," is feared. On the contrary, after receiving alms, the beggar will thank the giver by wishing him a numerous male posterity.

181 We must therefore expect to see matrimonial customs strongly
595 influenced by this way of thinking. Thus, when the wife has no children or no sons, it seems natural /9/ to everyone to take a second wife and even a third. Every T'ou-jen, even the most upright, if means permit, will act in this way. He will not lose the esteem of his fellows in the least for doing so; all of them will even advise him to do so, the most religious man as well as the most pious woman. When the first wife has borne sons, and the husband takes a second, nothing shocking is seen in it, for the more sons one has, the better it is.

I always remember the discussions I had with T'ou-jen friends on the subject of polygamy. I admit that it seemed to me that my arguments did not convince them, even that they were not understood. The good fortune of having sons was for them too sublime an entity to be capable of being put on the same level with the family troubles which polygamy entails; if the bringing up of children of different mothers must leave something to be desired, this disadvantage is a negligible quantity in their eyes, even a quantity of lower order

/73 cont'd/

16. Opening of the Daughter-in-law's Mouth

585
784 Until now the wife has not yet opened her mouth; her head has always been enveloped in the veil until the end of the marriage ceremony. On no pretext has she been able to say a word since her departure from her home. All the guests have had their /74/ eyes fixed upon her; uttering a single word would be considered one of the most fatal omens for the future. She is even forbidden to satisfy her natural needs, and in anticipation of that she has abstained from drinking the day before.

607 Her mouth must be opened by the mother-in-law in person.
554 Led back into the nuptial chamber after the marriage ceremony,
●562 she has been served tea and bread still in silence. Then comes the mother-in-law, who sits down on the k'ang and tells her point-blank, "Starting from today you are forbidden to divulge anything that goes on in the family, and anything that will happen in the future. You will not repeat within the family what you will hear outside. A daughter-in-law's mouth must be 'hard' (do not tell anything) with respect to people outside, it must be 'flexible' toward her relatives."

585 The daughter-in-law answers affirmatively, her mouth is opened. They talk again together for several minutes. Henceforward the wife is permitted to talk with her maid of honor in the nuptial chamber; the women who are at the festivity go to wish her good day.

17. The Dinner

585 The guests of the two families have taken their places at the
171 tables prepared for the dinner. (1) The maternal uncle, the go-

1. Shirokogoroff, p. 84: (A dinner is served in the Chinese style. A master of ceremonies conducts the proceedings.) The clan people and especially the family members eat after the guests. When the meal approaches its end, they bring to the bride's place the ritual meal

593 /83 cont'd/
574 daughters-in-law cannot miss on any pretext. Each time the trip is
[527] made on horseback, and the husband comes back home the same day or the next.

When the two families live in places too distant from each other, for example, two days or more, the daughter-in-law makes only two visits a year to her parents. The first is made after the sowing, about the third moon, and lasts a month, the second after the threshing of the wheat, about the eleventh moon; it lasts a month and a half or even two months. The daughter-in-law will always be back for the festival of the god of the hearth.

[562] Women over forty can go to their own families whenever they like.

Outside of these customary visits there are cases of sickness in the family, mourning, marriage, celebration for a first-born child, etc., and each time the married daughter does not fail to be present.

/84/ This is the customary thing. However, in practice these visits depend on many circumstances. It may happen that the daughter-in-law's family is poor and does not want to entertain its daughter and her two or three small children. Then these visits will become shorter and less numerous. It may happen that the relations of the daughter-in-law with her family are less intimate, then of course they see one another less. When the parents of the married daughter are dead, the brothers and the sisters-in-law invite their sister less. Likewise when the married daughter has several children, she will not be able to take them all away with her, and she will not want to leave them for as long a time and so often. If the husband and wife get along well together and the daughter-in-law is well treated by the mother-in-law, her visits will naturally be reduced; but although reduced, they are always extraordinarily frequent.

In general, these visits are the cause of many troubles in the two families because they are too prolonged and too frequent. They give the young wife every chance for relations that are not praiseworthy at her place of origin, and these end up by chilling the relationship with her husband. During these visits the daughter often complains about her mother-in-law; then her parents, in order to

Ma 428 589 425 /115 cont'd/ [Manchu]

property, as a rule, becomes her husband's property and through the husband this property is transmitted to a foreign clan.

Ma 597 589 If the widow has succeeded and some time later is going to be remarried, her property must be transferred to the person who can be her heir. However if the widow and her daughters keep the property during several years (5-6), the widow can remarry and reserve her rights to her property. Besides there is a peculiar form of inheritance by adoption. If the deceased has no son and his brother succeeds him and assumes the care of the widow, he gives to her his son for adoption.

Ma 428 The property never can be inherited in the female line by the relatives of motherline filiation. /Cited in English./

Ma 582 585 There are cases in which a boy can marry a girl without having to pay for her. This kind of marriage today is contracted solely by poor young people. It is the case of saying: timeo Danaos et dona ferentes /"I fear Danaï and the bearing of gifts"/. In the Orient girls are not given as presents; altruism has not evolved to this point. Because a young man loves a girl seriously, that is not a reason for giving her to him free.

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Ma B. Marriage of a Girl, or the Question of Husband-sons-in-law

Summary. -- 1. Exchange of a girl for the furnishing of services until the death of the parents-in-law. 2. Exchange of a girl for the furnishing of services for a fixed number of years. 3. Purchase of a girl and search for a son-in-law who will serve their parents-

/120 cont'd/

361 place of origin. Now among the T'ou-jen of this area, a good many
331 have come to practice again the former custom of husband-sons-in-law practiced by the Tibetans, their neighbors. As soon as they ar-
608 rive in the region they no longer give their daughters in marriage out-
184 side the house, but they seek a /121/ husband-son-in-law for them;
583 on the other hand, they send their sons to become husband-sons-in-law in other families. Among many of these T'ou-jen, the sons no longer enjoy even the right of inheritance in their own family, where the daughters have become the sole heirs; in other families they continue to inherit beside their sisters. They are thus passing through a period of transition. One T'ou-jen family after the other adopts the customs of the Tibetans, at first some of the customs and only in part, and gradually they become Tibetanized. Besides, it is a fact that the Tibetan environment is not distasteful to them, and that T'ou-jen girls given in marriage to Tibetans quickly feel at home.

562 The T'ou-jen of the Sining region, speaking of their brothers
184 of Koei-tê, say, laughing, that among the latter the wife is owner
177 and mistress of the home, niu-jen tang ts'ai, that the men do not count there, that there are women there who themselves send away their husbands, that women are found there who have more than one husband, and that the old men there are to be pitied. Thus Tibetan
178 customs.

608 How must one explain the deformation of the practice of
[177] husband-sons-in-law among the T'ou-jen?

First, it is necessary to know that the Mohammedan revolutions decimated the T'ou-jen population in Kansu. Some T'ou-jen, in order to remake their groups and get rents for their lands, accepted in their clans numerous heterogeneous Chinese and Tibetan elements; other T'ou-jen headmen never succeeded in rebuilding the ruins. *Add to that the use of opium* which especially undermined the families of the headmen and put them in debt and impoverished them; it is
[622] thus not surprising that the power and also the influence of the t'ou-se were decidedly impaired. The prime blow of all was more and more frequent recourse to Chinese magistrates on the part of the T'ou-jen. In the old days, say the elders, the t'ou-se alone was

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858 same right as his cousins, sons of his mother's brothers. The reason
588 given for this is that the mother, at the time of her son's birth, was no longer a girl but quite married, since she was wearing her hair in the fashion of wives. But suppose that the young woman, as a result of difficulties with a sister-in-law or with her parents, or having simply found a match which she likes, marries again at a "second" wedding, then she can either take her son with her, and he loses
[128] ipso facto his rights to inheritance in his mother's family, and he must change his family name and inherit in the family of his new father (for by the change of name he falls into the category of adoptive children), or else the grandmother opposes the departure /129/ of her daughter's son, and he stays in his mother's family, keeping his rights.

848 It often happens that neither the grandmother nor the mother
792 keeps the child but that they entrust him to a lamasery. Lamas no
178 longer having the right of inheritance, these children disappear from public life. This category of children are sent to the lamasery probably to avoid difficulties which arise later at the time of the division of property, either on the part of the uncles or the nephews, just as when the mother takes the child to the home of her new husband and the latter adopts him as his son, which makes one suppose that these children's right to inherit is nowadays no longer very stable. One feels a period of transition in the custom. We are here in the presence of a practice which must have been more general in olden times and which has its roots in an organization which is not patriarchal.

562 These girl-mothers are received in all groups and are regarded
588 as virtuous women in spite of the fact that people know this custom is
593 considered abominable in the eyes of their Chinese neighbors. These women are recognized as being married; for, they say, their marriage took place in the manner of the marriage of girls, in the courtyard of the house, in front of the sacred fire. Their children are recognized as children of the clan, and they are given the name of their mother. In T'ou-jen families, when a brother dies, leaving only daughters, his brothers inherit his property; the daughters indeed do not inherit; but when this brother has a daughter of the category of which we

/129 cont'd/

562 588 593 speak, and when she has a son, then the brothers of the deceased will not have the right to demand his property for themselves. In addition, these same brothers who would not permit their brother to bequeath his property to his daughter and a son-in-law not adopted into the clan recognize the right of inheritance of a niece married to a prayer pole and of her children.

As long as the girl-mother stays home with her children, it is rare that difficulties arise; but often the situation changes when the woman is married at a "second" wedding /130/ and her children are still young. Then the woman's uncles, if she has no brothers, or these brothers if she has any, try to make her take her children with her and have them adopted by the new husband. They want to seize the property of the brother for themselves; for the property of the clan cannot pass to another clan. If the sons of the girl-mother are married at the time when she marries for the second time, there is no longer anything to fear for their rights. Let us note again that for these women, when they later remarry someone of their choice, there is no festivity as at the marriage of girls; they are satisfied with inviting a few neighbors. The second marriage can, in a way, be compared to a widow's marriage; however, such a woman will never have to fear being abducted.

The present case then is very strange in a society which, today, has strictly paternal descent. The fact that those rights are universally recognized is a sign that they date from far back; also the T'ou-jen cannot explain their origin and simply admit the fact.

8. Marriages to a Belt

588 184 574 837 These marriages, although they are as abnormal as those of the preceding series, nevertheless seem to constitute a separate series. First, they are practiced less than those we have just described, and then their origin does not seem to be the same. They find their explanation in the custom of offering, for the night, a girl or a woman to a passing guest; in short, it is prostitution for the sake of hospitality. (1)

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A. Divorce

586 Summary. -- 1. Right of divorce, theory and practice. 2. Causes of divorce. 3. Procedure.

1. Right of Divorce, Theory and Practice

Divorce among the T'ou-jen takes on a special character, that of the sale of the wife by the husband with her consent. The definition of divorce is fully realized in it: the dissolving of the marriage ties in view of the respective interests of the husband and wife.

[562] /135/ In theory the wife's right to separate from her husband and ask for divorce is not recognized; the reason for it is that the wife is considered as the pure and simple property of the husband who bought her. On the contrary, the husband's right, in theory, to send his wife away, to sell her with her consent, as well as to do it in spite of her, is recognized. Moreover, he has the right to repudiate her by sending her back to her parents.

[614] 627 586 Although this theory has the force of law, I have nevertheless known the case of a rich woman bringing suit through the head of the clan, the t'ou-se, to obtain a divorce. An only daughter, when very young she had married a poor young man who had come to live at her home and serve her parents until their death. Now the husband-son-in-law in question was dissipating her fortune. The clans of the girl's mother and father as well as the elders of the village together presented a petition to the t'ou-se in which they confirmed the facts and asked the t'ou-se to grant the divorce. The divorce was granted. They based their argument on the fact that the wife had been given to the husband-son-in-law in exchange for the good services he was to render to the parents-in-law and the family; now he had not been faithful to his pledges....

586 The case of divorce occurs in practice in the following form: when the couple are no longer getting along, the wife has already found, in most cases, someone who wants to obtain her. If she has not yet found anyone, the husband will urge her to look for someone

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3. Importance of the Mother, the Daughter-in-law, the Child, the Maternal Clan

593 562 a) Abnormal interference in the marriage of her children.

In a patriarchal organization the wife does not own anything, she does not count; even her children do not belong to her. Is it not necessary therefore to explain the predominant position of the mother in the marriage rites as being a vestige of a /155/ former matriarchate?

593 562 535 Indeed, the wedding "seems" even in our day to be the business of the mother alone. Without speaking of the marriage promises made between mothers as yet only pregnant, we have seen that the official request for the bride is made by the mother alone. The consent given to the mother alone enjoys all the necessary guarantees so that they can allow themselves to wait four or five years more before getting a go-between. Likewise, when the earnest is discussed, it is again the mother alone who goes to ask for the girl to be married at an early date; only after the mother's request does the go-between appear in order to set the date and the rest. For marriages without ceremony it is the mother again who, with the go-between, goes in complete simplicity to get the bride who is poor. This fact is very significant. Along the way, what the sobbing bride fears most is that they will curse her by cursing her mother; this is the greatest injury that can be done to her.

606 587 593 When one examines present-day customs concerning young widows, one finds it abnormal in a patriarchal organization that the young widow after the 49 days of mourning goes back to her mother's family to stay there until her second marriage. Indeed, she is the property pure and simple of her parents-in-law. It is likewise abnormal that the go-betweens, at the time of the second marriage, address themselves to her own parents before addressing her mother-in-law. Does not that recall the time when the daughter was married at home and had no mother-in-law?

After addressing the mother, the go-between goes to the home of the widow's parents-in-law, and there again he accosts first the mother-in-law, just as if she had the widow-bride at her disposal

/155 cont'd/

606 ahead of all the other members of the family. What is typical is that
587 they call the money given to the mother-in-law k'ai k'eou ts'ien,
593 "the sum which opens her mouth," for if she does not open her mouth, that is to say, if she does not consent, the marriage comes to nought. /156/

b) Succession on the maternal side.

562 Without admitting a former matriarchate, how can one explain
593 the situation of the women in the series of marriages to the prayer
88 pole, etc.? In this case the "girl-mother" is seen to enjoy all the rights of a married woman, her children bear her name and inherit in her clan beside the children of her brothers. This is certainly the case which makes kinship, order of succession, and the property of the family pass on the mother's side. This single case which continues to exist in the middle of a patriarchal period in which the children of daughters as well as their mother are considered as outside the family, deserves all attention.

c) Admission into the family of children born of outsider fathers.

843 Is it not permitted to see vestiges of the matriarchate in the great facility with which they admit into the family the children of daughters-in-law and widows, both certainly of fathers who are outsiders; partus sequitur ventrem /"offspring proceed from the womb"/: they recognize only the mother. We have seen that here they are in a period of transition which begins to make this practice more and more difficult.

562 d) Frequent family visits of the daughter-in-law and right to
421 keep her property at her mother's home.
593
574 Again what can be said of the abnormal custom which allows the daughter-in-law these frequent visits and these long vacations with her family? This custom is not natural in a patriarchal organization where the daughter-in-law is the property of her husband, and where she must give this clan her life, her time, and all her work. This custom gives the impression that the daughter, after marriage, always continues to live with her own family and not that of her husband, (1) all the more /157/ because she keeps at her parents' home

/157 cont'd/

Ma 574 593

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., pp. 90-91: The second long visit of the newly married wife in her mother's house may be also understood as a survival of the customs that prescribed to the newly married wife to keep her place in her mother's house. Furthermore the Manchus never say "the wife's father's clan" but "the wife's mother's clan." At the same time they say "the husband's clan" and "the husband's father's clan." Thus all these facts cannot be explained without a supposition of the materline clan system in the past. /Cited in English./

Mo 5.2 421 593 574

her finery, clothes, her ornaments, her jewels, and everything that is dear to her. One keeps one's treasures at one's home; now, the home of the daughter-in-law does not seem to be near her husband. This last custom, which still effectively recognizes that the wife today has certain property rights, does not belong to a patriarchal organization; furthermore, we saw in the speech of the master of ceremonies that formerly the daughter enjoyed property rights even in her own family she inherited half of a son's share.

e) Festivities at the birth of daughters.

Mo 527 844

We shall describe elsewhere the extraordinary noisy festivities in which the whole village takes part, given on the occasion of the birth of the first child of a daughter-in-law, whether this child be a son or daughter, the celebration is equally solemn. Now such a festivity upon the birth of a daughter is again absolutely abnormal in a patriarchal system, where only the male descendant counts. We must note that already in many T'ou-jen families this festivity is celebrated only upon the birth of the first son. This celebration is absolutely inconceivable to a Chinese mind.

Mo [171]

f) Wedding dinner at the bride's home.

Mo 585 562

In a patriarchal system how does one justify the dinner given at the bride's home for the members of her family alone on the eve of

Mo 585 /157 cont'd/ her departure? The wedding festivity takes place in the patriarchal system in the bridegroom's family on the same day as the marriage. The departure of the daughter cannot be considered as a reason for rejoicing; also this custom is not found in China. Is it not also a custom of olden times, when one celebrated the arrival of the son-in-law and his entry into the family?

Mo 562 Mo [171]

4. Husband-sons-in-law

Mo 608 591 606 We have described above the different forms taken by the husband-sons-in-law practice. The great frequency of this practice in spite of all the troubles it entails, /158/ again brings us back to the former matriarchate. (1) But let us put aside the "fact itself" of this institution which is essentially matriarchal in order to explain some strange vestiges still met with today relative to this practice.

> 1. I know only one single case in which a T'ou-jen woman governed her clan. It is that of the widow of the Lou t'ou-sc. It is an isolated case, completely accidental and recent. I see in it no relation whatever with the matriarchate which formerly existed among the T'ou-jen.

Mo [342]

Formerly, the husband-son-in-law, living in his wife's family, had necessarily to be considered as an intimate member of the family. Now can one not see a vestige of this position of the son-in-law in the fact that at the time of celebrations and of mourning, the son-in-law does not have his place at the dinner among the guests? On the contrary, even today, he is relegated to the kitchen among the intimates of the family. Celebrations and mournings are not a time of rejoicing for him, of feasting and of drinking bouts, but a time during which work is required of him which is considerable and very disagreeable.

Ma 606 We have seen that among the Manchu, when the son-in-law comes to get his bride, he honors first the spirits of that family, then

[20 cont.]

*1778 [824] The making of the spear: The wood of the shaft must have grown wild. Wood that has been planted or wood from inhabited, settled regions may never be taken, for it is not pure. The wood is therefore sought in lonely forests and mountains. The most superior wood is sandalwood. Since this is rare, however, the mountain ash is usually used. -- The iron is usually wrought iron. There is no prescriptions concerning its origin. It may be bought, taken from old tools, etc.

Fig. 2

a. Spirit-table without bands (sirie purgan); b. spirit-table with bands (sirie purgan).

[422] [562] [463] Anyone may have a spirit-spear, and anyone may make it himself, but never women. If the owner wants to have a beautiful spirit-spear, however, he will go to a skilled craftsman, carpenter, and smith. It is required that before starting the work the craftsman rinse out his mouth, wash his face and hands, and hold the latter [783] over the smoke of a cypress fire. The tools are also thoroughly smoked. In addition, the smith casts some cypress incense into his [782] smithy fire.

[322] [326] The craftsman may work at home in his workshop or in with the family of his client. The individual parts are made separately, in other words, the shaft by the carpenter, the tip and foot by the smith. They bring the parts to the owner's house. The latter then [782] offers twelve steamed loaves (or baked loaves) on the shelf in front of the Buddha image, as well as a piece of red cloth and a measure of barley. The craftsmen place their instruments on the grain in [788] the bushel, and all of them kowtow in front of the Buddha image, [322] while the incense offering is presented outside. The carpenter [326] receives the barley; the smith receives the twelve loaves with the red cloth.

[22 cont.]

346 must have its own door to the outside. The chapel may not be
*778 constructed in such a way that it can also be reached through another room that is occupied. It must be located in the main
[783] house. In order to avoid any danger of pollution, the chapel is
[791] preferably erected on the roof of the main house. The soothsayer determines in what part or on what side of the main house it should be. Aside from silence, the reason for this strict sep-
[783] aration from the other rooms is that in crossing other rooms one may become unclean, especially if the rooms are accessible to the women.

783 Prescriptions for purity: Ordinarily, any man or boy may
*[778] touch the spear, fetch it, and take it away. They may also
[778] enter the chapel at will. Women, however, may never touch
●[562] the spear or visit the chapel. They are always regarded as unclean. There are also certain taboos, however, for the men.

The man's wife or any other woman in the family may
[846] not be in confinement. Not until ten days after the conclusion of the confinement, that is, 40 days after the birth, is the man pure again. If he has visited another family in which there is a woman in childbed, he is pure immediately after the conclusion of the confinement, that is, 30 days after the birth.

[765] Those in mourning are unclean for 49 days, if they are members of the dead person's own family. If the parents have died, the children are regarded as unclean for 100 days. If someone participated in the obsequies of another family, he is unclean for only three days.

[791] These prescriptions for purity also apply to the soothsayer.
*[778] He may not enter the chapel during this time, and especially may not touch the spear or even practice soothsaying. When this period has elapsed, the men are automatically pure again; there is no special purification ceremony (1).

[171] 1. [Foreign text p. 26.] The prescriptions for purification are the same as among the Chinese in Tsinghai; they apply for all religious activities and temple visits. The Chinese also have

[28 cont.]

752 crossed under him, his face turned toward the door, and his
787 back to the altar. He has placed his sword across his knees.
[576] He holds a burning stick of incense upright in his hands in front of his chest, so that the smoke rises into his face. Then he speaks the prayer of invitation to his tutelary spirit. Meanwhile men make smoke around him with incense. Gradually his hands begin to tremble; the movement passes to the arms, chest, and head. Finally his entire body is trembling and shaking, but especially the head with a violence that makes the bells rattle. At this point the stick of incense is taken out of his hand and he is given his sword (6). The spirit has now

6. [Foreign text p. 32.] The little stick is placed in the incense bowl.

[789] descended upon him. He begins to prophesy and to exorcise the demons.

The shaman may also choose another place for the trance, for instance, the temple, the house chapel, a mountain top,
* [778] an obo [a mound of stones dedicated to the mountain spirit], the yard. He never undertakes the trance on the kang in a side room. If there is a god's image with a soul on the household altar, he always sits down facing this image; in the case of the obo he must turn toward the obo. -- In front of the obo or on the mountain top he need not sit on a table, but can kneel on the bare ground. If he undertakes the trance in the yard of a compound, he goes to the side opposite the main house so that he has the round manger with the mani-tree before him and faces the main house. There he kneels upright on a white felt mat. The other ceremonies are the same.

The compound in which he undertakes the trance must first be swept clean; all the rooms are fumigated with incense. The [29] table or the mat on which he kneels must also be
[609] fumigated. -- There is no taboo for strangers, however; all
● [562] may witness the ceremony. Women, however, may not enter the room in which the trance takes place.

[29 cont.]

752 787 Soothsaying: In the common form of soothsaying, the petitioner kowtows to the shaman in the trance and presents his request. He may also let an experienced man do the asking. The soothsayer then holds his breast-shield flat on his left hand, takes barley kernels from a little plate with the tip of the sword, and scatters them on the shield. From the pattern of the kernels he now gives his answer. Often he also moves in a violent trance and mumbles all kinds of disjointed words which a practiced man quickly writes down on paper and which afterwards are interpreted. In the trance, the soothsayer may speak any language, Tibetan, Chinese, Tujen, Mongolic, even if he has not learned it.

This soothsaying also precedes all the other ceremonies that he performs during the trance, such as exorcising demons, healing the sick, etc.

• [562] Calling: The shamans are always men. When someone thinks that he has the ability to go into a trance, he goes to a quiet, remote spot and experiments with a staff, a sword, etc. In time he becomes proficient. He also becomes aware of which spirit takes possession of him. Frequently the people in [792] the village propose to a young man that he should try it once. * [778] If he then succeeds, they suggest that he have himself consecrated in the lamic monastery. -- Most shamans take up this 756 calling of their own accord. Those who receive the art from their fathers are not common. The shamans are always healthy, [158] normal men; they are only more easily excitable (7).

7. [Foreign text p. 32.] They do not form an organization of their own. True, I have been repeatedly told that in the sixth month on the first (?) or fifteenth day the shamans of the Hsi-ch'uan gather in a village near Tuopa (west of Hei-tsuei-p'u) and organize a kind of trance competition for an entire day. This custom, however, is supposedly recent.

[30 cont.]

[Note on foreign text pp. 32-33 cont.]
to Shang-wu-chwang there is a village with a small lamasery [33] from which the shamans of Kumbum come, who appear especially on New Year's. As a missionary tells me, in the village there in quite recent times a young man was doing exercises almost daily, going into a trance on the river bank, fighting with a sword, shooting arrows, etc.

In any case all the lamaseries attach great importance to having a shaman who, possessed by the tutelary spirit dPekar, prophesies on New Year's, I observed these shamans in Kuo-mang-szu and Kumbum. In the Tujen lamasery, where a living shaman-monk was not to be found, I saw on New Year's a life-sized figure set up in full shaman regalia. At the sooth-saying on the fifteenth day, however, the spear-soothsayer acted in his stead in the temple yard, where the dances take place, before the hutukhtu, the assembled monks, and all the people. In Kuo-mang-szu I even saw a woman appear in the temple as a shaman, but she did not represent the usual type of sgurdien.

The lama does not put the shaman costume on his protégé. Usually he comes to the monastery without any costume and does not see to it until later. Frequently his own village helps to provide it. He makes the two-edged sword himself or has it made by the smith.

The tutelary spirit: The tutelary spirit always reveals itself to the shaman; a lama cannot designate a tutelary spirit for anyone. The shaman often calls himself "spirit-disciple" or "spirit-protégé." The spirit has its seat in the

372 [43 cont.]
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[783]
[575]

[Note on foreign text p. 46 cont.]
takes a second mouthful and lets it run out of the mouth over the cupped hands and washes them; the third mouthful, allowed to run into the hand in the same way, serves to wash the face. This is repeated as desired, until one is clean. In case someone has a washbowl, he may under no circumstances forget to rinse his mouth, because that is part of the purification for a religious ceremony.

and puts them on the incense plate under the mani-tree out in the yard. There he blows on the coals to make a large flame, throws cypress twigs, butter, tsamba, flowers, spices, tea leaves, sugar, and a number of colored threads into it, and finally sprinkles the fire with pure water. Then, when the smoke rises up, the conch is blown, and the master of the
[788] house, as well as all those standing by, makes a three-fold kowtow three times in front of the fire. With this the morning offering is concluded, and all go to their daily work.

Details

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[592]
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Persons: Usually the master of the household presents the incense offering. In his stead, however, another male member of the family may perform the act, but never women, unless there is no male person in the house and the children are still too small. Women may be present and make the kowtow, just as they also sweep the yard, set the things in readiness, and even hand them over for the offering. The conch is usually blown by someone who does not perform the offering. If the master of the household making the offering does it himself, it is done before the kowtow.

[72 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 77-78 cont.] a roof, such as dzĕw-yi and ger-kã̀ṅ. The kã̀ṅ described here is this ger-kã̀ṅ. Actually this name is a tautology, for ger is Mongolic and means house (tent), in other words, the same as the Tibetan kã̀ṅ. Besides these names, there are other special designations for bẽ̀ṅkaṅ, such as mani bẽ̀ṅkã̀ṅ, tsãla bẽ̀ṅkã̀ṅ, dsõma bẽ̀ṅkã̀ṅ, maridzẽ bẽ̀ṅkã̀ṅ. Unfortunately all these types could not be inquired into precisely [78], nor likewise the meaning of the name and the contents of the bẽ̀ṅkã̀ṅ. The many rĕduombẽ̀ṅ (7) [see Note 7 below], pyramid-like stonepiles which hold down evil demons, as is also reported in the Tujen myth of the female man-eater Mãngudzẽ, probably also belong among the bẽ̀ṅkã̀ṅ. For this function the Chinese have the expression pu mei-ch'i, that is, to plug up the (earth)veins' breath.

*778 Time: The chorten chamber may be erected at any time of the year, although the frost-free period is preferred because of the work on the walls. The soothsayer designates the specific [791] day and hour. -- The preparation, however, takes many weeks because the building material, the urns, and the clay cones must be manufactured. In addition, a small village festival [527] is always connected with the erection and for that reason the time after the harvest is preferred.

[621] Persons: All the persons of the village take part in the
476 preparations, men, women, and children. The leader divides
562 the work among the individual families. At the erection and the
[792] consecrating ceremonies, however, only men are active. Women are kept away. -- The consecration of the urns and the service

[621 cont.]

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4. [Foreign text p. 622.] A lama can also perform the ceremony. This is rarely done, however. Usually the father or kin-group elder does it.

is never a woman or a relative from the family of the woman in childbed.

Following the name-giving or in the course of the day, the mother with the child in her arms must kowtow to all the [431] guests; for this she receives a small gift of money for the [527] child. -- Towards noon the family holds a general feast, for [273] men and women separately. On this occasion much barley [562] wine is drunk, and there is singing and dancing.

852 Reception of the shepherd: Towards evening, when the animals are expected back from the pasture, the father or the mother takes the infant in his arms and takes it out in front of the gate of the yard, where they meet the homecoming herd. [431] The shepherd must give the child some money, and in return the father gives him a loaf of bread which he must eat immediately. This custom is called "to welcome the shepherd"; [553] the Chinese say "to welcome the sheep" (2). -- The guests

[171]
[846]

2. [Foreign text p. 622.] The reception of the shepherd is also found among the Chinese, just as the termination of the confinement generally is almost the same among them. In the region of Hei-tsuei-tzu (Hsi-ch'uan) I learned from the missionary there, P. Frick, that the people place the child in the manger so that it may later own many herds and become a good horseman. This custom could not be confirmed for the Tujen.

[631 cont.]
527 778 888 husband and the daughter's children must give a hada and money to the person to be consecrated. In return they later receive greater remuneration when they depart.
[431]
[574] [562] Feast: The feast takes place in the yard, first for the men, then for the women. Three fields are divided off, right and left for guests, and in the center for the mother's brother with the two closest relatives. These three sit on a felt mat on even ground with their backs to the main door of the main house and have before them a low kang table with the dishes; they are served separately by the master of ceremonies. On the two fields to the right and left, straw is scattered in a square; heavy planks are put in front of it and sometimes also mats, which are to represent the tables. In the middle of each square there burns a fire in which tea and liquor are warmed.

[264] [574] The food is introduced with tsamba and tea, which is taken with butter and milk. Mutton or pork follows; the fatter it is, the better liked and more superior it is. A considerable amount is drunk. Rice follows as the main dish, which is mixed with butter and sugar and sweet roots. -- The women eat after the men. -- During the meal there are always some free, who sing and dance.

527 778 888 792 604 Settling the prayer fee: After the meal, the master of ceremonies pours out liquor for the mother's brother. The sons, daughters, and daughters-in-law kneel down before the mother's brother. The master of ceremonies hands him a hada and starts the negotiations over the price. The mother's brother demands expensive gifts and much money for the lama; the master of ceremonies, through his rhetorical skill, must gradually lower the demands, until finally a suitable sum is agreed upon. Then the sons and daughters stand up, kowtow, thank the mother's brother, and go. This is similar to what is done at the pai-ta before the cremation (1).

1. [Foreign text p. 634.] For further details, see chapter, "Customs concerning the Dead and Cremation." Here, too, the

[824 cont.]

241 the soothsayer when the pole-goat is raised for the first time.
789 This spot is then always retained. A hole is dug there and covered
778 with a clod of earth or a rock so that it will not be destroyed by
the next year.
[791] The place is never taboo, regardless of whether the pole-goat stands there or not. One may pasture animals there, start a fire, etc. Women need not avoid it.

241 [825] Persons: Only a Bon priest may undertake the
789 performance, never a lama or a soothsayer. Nowadays the cus-
791 tom is scarcely ever practiced because the Bon priests have died
out. It is still found only in very remote mountain villages. The
[178] simple ceremony is performed by a Bon priest of the second class,
the solemn ceremony by a Bon priest of the first class because
[292] he has special magical power. The costume is that of the ordinary people since the Bon priest is, of course, a farmer. He merely needs to wear the forehead wreath and a long garment.

In addition the following act with him: the seed-master and his helper, the village elders, and generally all men, all soothsayers. It is enough, however, if only one soothsayer is represented, for instance, a sword-shaman, a spirit-table
[562] soothsayer, etc. Women must not witness the ceremony, but little girls may watch.

241 The pole: It does not matter of what wood and amidst
789 which ceremonies the pole is made. Usually it is a slender
778 poplar tree ten meters long. The village itself is responsible
[621] for this pole. It is used every year and kept in the family of the annually alternating seed-master. It may be burned, cut up, etc. when it has served its purpose for several years.

The goat: Ordinarily it is a wool goat; color, age, sex, size, etc. are unimportant. It is true that the people prefer horned goats over the hornless. No one cares about the origin of the goat; it may be purchased, be a gift, etc. After it has been taken down from the pole in the autumn, the hide belongs to the seed-master, but it is so dilapidated that it is not usable.

[831 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 834 cont.] the other hand, it is done for protection against bad weather, it is also popularly done before the pole-goat.

[562] Persons: As is the case for all religious ceremonies, the women are kept away. The participants are the seed-master, the village elders, and all other men and youths. Any kind of [791] soothsayer may appear on this occasion. It is important that at the actual offering some spirit is always summoned by the soothsayer and supervises the performance. -- Participation is also [784] prohibited to all who are in mourning and in whose compound there is a woman in childbed. -- People with empty utensils, for example, empty water pails, baskets, etc., may not come near. For this reason the gong is beaten before the offering, so that such persons will stay away (2).

[787]
[735]

2. [Foreign text p. 834.] The fear of an encounter with empty utensils is quite general in Tsinghai. It signifies poverty, vain endeavor, etc. Tujen express the wish, for example, before a journey: huodzën sawa bi pëngë, that is, "may an empty vessel not appear." The Chinese, too, have similar expressions.

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Sacrificial animal: As sacrificial animal only a sheep is considered, no goat and especially no pig. The sheep may be of any color and sex, even castrated. It must be at least a year old, however. A sheep that is too young would be an insult to the gods, aside from the fact that the meat would not [621] be sufficient for the participants. Usually the [832] sheep is purchased jointly. Every family must provide grain or money for this purpose; the owner is always given compensation. To be [784] sure, the sheep may not come from a family that is taboo at the time, for instance, through bereavement, childbed, sickness, etc.

[835 cont.]

241 782 procession moves from the temple directly to the nearest mountain and along the ridges across all the mountains of the entire village area. On each height the customary incense offering is burned by the two men, while the procession itself moves on. Towards midday, however, a halt is made on a height especially designated for this purpose. After the incense offering refreshments [264] are taken. The people bring bread, tea, and soup here in advance. Then the procession marches on. Not until evening does one return to the temple. On the following day the people take the books back to the lama monastery.

[836] **Details**

●[562] Persons: Only male persons may take part in the procession, regardless of whether they are adults or boys, so long as they are strong enough to carry the heavy book and can pray the mani. The seed-supervisor determines how many persons each family must provide to make up the number of 108 book-bearers. If there are not enough people in one village, help is brought in from the neighborhood. Chinese are also admitted. -- In fetching and taking the books back to the monastery the number does not matter, so one person may carry two books. The Tibetan books are, to be sure, very large and heavy, since they are bound between two boards.

241 782 624 794 The seed-supervisor is changed every year at the harvest thanksgiving offering. He is charged with taking care of all the religious celebrations of the year. He is not the village mayor, however. Because his main concern is the seed, he is called seed-supervisor. The supervisor of the past year helps him (2).

[171] [797]

2. [Foreign text p. 838.] The Chinese, too, have such a religious supervisor who is chosen annually. Usually he is simply called t'ou-jen, that is, head man, or he is also called huei-t'ou, that is, meeting (festival) head; ch'ing-miao t'ou is also used,

3: Schröder--250 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

[840 cont.]

Details

778 787 [783] Place: It is unimportant where the interrogation takes place; first the spot must be swept clean and, in case it is in the house, fumigated. The hands and face are washed and the great incense offering is made in the yard.

If the ceremony is in an open field or in the pasture, the place is not swept, for field and pasture are always clean. Incense is always offered, however.

Sometimes the place of interrogation and that of the consecration are different, for instance, when during the interrogation in the house it turns out that the animal is to be consecrated to the sky. In that case, one immediately goes out into the yard and continues the performance there. -- If the animal is consecrated to the mountain-spirit, one goes outside the village on a hill or before the obo. Small animals, for instance, a hen, may be consecrated in the house before the household altar.

If the entire village consecrates an animal, then everything takes place in the temple yard, and likewise if several families jointly consecrate an animal. If there is no temple, a clean compound is sought.

Time: There are no special days for the consecration. It depends entirely upon chance, whenever illness, misfortune, etc. happen. The ceremonies are always undertaken in bright daylight.

[841] The people are always careful that the consecration follows immediately after the interrogation. For this reason they immediately fetch the animal. Sometimes it also happens that they do not immediately find an appropriate animal; then one to two days pass between the interrogation and the consecration. In this case after two days one continues amidst the same ceremonies. Only the purification of the place and of the people and the incense offering are repeated.

778 562 Consecration-master: The consecration-master may be: an individual person, a family, a village, several families. It

[841 cont.]
778 is never women, however. It is true that a single woman may
562 promise an animal, for example, but in such a case other men, such as the mother's brother, undertake the interrogation and consecration. This may be done in the house of the woman.

778 Animals: As consecration-animals the following are per-
825 missible: horses, mules, asses, cows, sheep, goats, and even
[783] hens; pigs or dogs are never taken because they are unclean. In the case of all these animals, age, color, sex, or castration
[178] plays no role. White or male animals are not especially preferred. Large animals are no longer consecrated now, because the Tujen no longer have the large herds and are too poor. Usually one promises sheep and goats. Hens are frequently chosen because they are the cheapest (2).

2. [Foreign text pp. 842-843.] In the Tujen monastery Rgulon the choice of animals is different. A lama and a shaman related: one never consecrates dogs, and no hens, [843] only cocks, but these in all colors. Of the horses one takes only stallions; they must be black with a white spot on the forehead or grey (ch'ing-ma) of black-white mixed color. Of the mules one takes only females, no male animals. Their color is a bright reddish-brown. Belly, mouth, and eye-rings should be light. Of ordinary cattle and yaks one takes only black steers that have a white spot on the forehead; similarly among the sheep only black rams, flawless and with circular or doubly curled horns. --I also saw such animals there in the monastery. The consecrated mule was especially beautiful; it looked almost exactly like a wild

[861 cont.]

782 outside for the ceremony, and the lama makes another torma of
792 pure butter. He takes this outside and puts it on the drawing of the burning-place. Then the ceremony of the fire-pouring follows, at which all kinds of wood and spices are burned.

The lama continues to pray until evening. The following morning he receives his fee and is taken back to the monastery. Sometimes, however, one keeps him a few more days for
[784] prayers. -- After the fire-pouring the yard remains taboo for at
[351] least another week.

Details

[756] Persons: The fire-pouring may not be undertaken by shamans, but only by lamas. These are not ordinary lamas, however. Only the three top classes are considered for it: the Hutukhtu, the Tsüordzi, and the Känpo. Usually three lamas are needed. It suffices if one of them belongs to the higher rank, but one often invites more (1).

[791]

1. [Foreign text p. 867.] Other Tujen claim that a Bon priest could also undertake the fire-pouring, which, after all, is to be expected, at least in the case of the black fire-pouring. The old informant, however, and other people, too, decidedly contest this. According to them, only a lama (gelõngba) is to be considered for this; the Bon priests, they claim, concern themselves only with demon exorcism.

782 The fire-pouring may be ordered by a private person (man or woman), by an individual family, or by the entire village. -- During the ceremony, the general avoidance pre-
[562] scriptions apply. Women may be present, but may not assist.

[207 cont.]
hairdress," through which a girl is wedded to heaven and is no longer burdened with the contempt suffered by unmarried women (see above). The fear of the female demon-souls [208] is also widespread among the Chinese, and there is only one way of being safe from them: the cremation. In the customs of the Tsinghai Chinese, this fear and contempt have their basis in the Buddhist conception that a woman is an unclean being and that this uncleanness is only removed through the man and his descendants. This attitude is strengthened through the fervent desire for sons and grandsons, which again is connected with the ancestor cult. These Buddhistic motives are certainly also decisive in part among the Tujen. Among them, too, the woman is regarded as unclean, even if not so harshly as among the Chinese. The veneration of the ancestors plays scarcely any role. Nonetheless, uncleanness and demonism are closely connected. A very common expression runs: pudaǧ ilie, unclean demon; a woman is also pudaǧ during her period.

The demon soul therefore seems to stand in a special relationship with the female principle. This suggests the surmise that it represents the flesh-(body)-soul in the human being, which stands in contrast to the bone-soul. In northeastern Tibet and elsewhere one encounters the conception that the bones of a person come from the man and the flesh from the woman. Among the Tujen, however, this relationship is difficult to determine because it is precisely the bone-soul that is related so closely to the mother's clan. This does not, it is true, exclude an individual assignment to the man (father), but it does not permit it to make its appearance through this unquestionably matriarchal trait.

From everything, one can see that the Tujen are little concerned about the after-life of the soul and the beyond. To them it is enough if they are left in peace on earth. The Buddhist conceptions are more theoretical. In actuality one not infrequently encounters a this-worldly fatalism which expresses itself in the saying: "Our life does not have much meaning" (literally: we have lived in vain). Even if the conception of the soul has much similarity to that of the Chinese, the Tujen

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

time with the beating of drums and cymbals perform their wildest dances for a long time. Usually three or four among them seem to be possessed. All of a sudden the chief of the shamans becomes excited to fever pitch, and howls "go to the goddess." Then, followed by the other shamans, he grasps a chicken and, dancing with fury, bites its neck and jerks off its head in a wild movement. Grimacing with distorted face, and glittering eyes, he throws the bleeding chicken head in the supposed direction of the goddess, uttering dreary cries and indistinct sounds. After the rite is accomplished, the people go home for dinner. It is indeed a savage means of greeting "a goddess of joy," with a bleeding head and with such wild appearance.

The split-personality of the "good" shaman who the first day was so gentle, so kind, so considerate for the spirits, shows up more and more; he has to see blood and to offer bloody sacrifices.

LEAVE-TAKING OF THE SPIRITS

After sunset all the villagers come to the temple. In some villages the women are not allowed to attend the evening rites, but elders asserted that in former times the women were admitted everywhere.

A hundred small lamps are prepared, the cup made with dough and the wick with twisted cotton wool. Into the cup is poured vegetable oil. The lamps are displayed in rows on the offering table in front of the pole and the statues. The shamans first perform the usual dance, keeping time to the beating of the drums. The leave taking of the guest spirits is called the "opening of the highway" (*k'ai ma-lu*). A bridge[*] is to be built over which the guests are supposed to pass. A big roll is put on each of the four corners of the table, and a larger one in the middle; a paper banner is placed on each of the five rolls. A lamp is lit near the banners and a plate put near each of them; on the middle plate is placed the head of a chicken.

The chief of the shamans asks the shamans and the apprentices for the meaning of the five rolls. The five rolls mean the five mountains; the five lamps, the five lakes; the five wicks, the five dragons; the banners, the incense which billows up into the sky. Why is the head of a chicken put on the middle plate? In order to steady the *Yin-Yang* (male and female principle of the Taoists). The chief shaman writes, around the roll in the center, the eight Chinese cyclical characters and asks for the explanation of each of them. If one of the shamans or apprentices is unable to answer he is scolded and upbraided in front of the whole gathering.

A bridge is constructed for the spirits from one end of the table to the other by disposing two rows of rolls in which are planted brand new chopsticks; on both sides of the bridge are planted incense sticks in smaller rolls. The shaman asks again for explanations: Is there still another way existing above that bridge or not? An-

[*] Eliade, *op. cit.*, 419.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Amni Chialip of the Obo in Waza is built inside the courtyard of a rich Tibetan, Manguru. I was told by him that every day he lit a taper and burned incense. Women, and girls, even his wife or daughter-in-law, were never allowed to enter the small temple. The same prohibition existed for the women against visiting this kind of temple in the monasteries.

When and how are the five owners of the country honored? On an auspicious day fixed by a lama, usually of the Red Sect, at the end of the fifth moon, and usually during the sixth moon, five delegates from every village assumed to be situated in the circumscription of the territory of the spirit, are sent to the mountain. They carry a tent and drive some sheep which have been washed and combed, with red paper pasted on their horns and ribbons attached to their fleece, and a piece of red cloth eight feet long on each of their backs. The men also bring some spears and arrows painted red and black, miniature bows, firecrackers and the famous "precious bottle" (the urn).

The first day, at evening, all the representatives of the villages pitch their tents at the foot of the celebrated mountain and pass the night in merrymaking. The next day, being the auspicious day, in the early morning the chief and the elders of the village, with a large crowd of villagers, arrive to attend the rites to be celebrated on top of the mountain. Chinese merchants pitch tents and do business at the foot of the mountain.

After breakfast all the chiefs of the villages with the villagers go to the Obo. One group after another sets off firecrackers before the Obo, plants in the stone heap spears and arrows, and attaches new flags and pieces of wool and bones, and reverently bury their precious bottle in a deep hole. On the crude offering table, the killed sheep is offered, broth is thrown first toward "Heaven" and then to the four points of the compass for "all the spirits," the famous Wei-sang rite is performed and libation made, while the groups kneel and prostrate themselves. After the rites of each village are performed by the chiefs, a group of lamas, mostly of the Red Church, perform on behalf of the entire community a big Wei-sang rite, beating drums, blowing horns, and chanting some prayers; they all turn three times around the obo.

In the afternoon at the foot of the mountain an immense crowd of men and women enjoy the horseraces and the wrestling,[19] singing and drinking. At sunset most of the people leave, but groups of young folk pass the night around the tents, merrymaking. On the morning of the third day, the tents are rolled up, all the

[19] L. M. Kervyn, *Mœurs et coutumes mongoles*, 76, Gembloux, Duculot, 1947. Description of the horse races in the sixth moon at the Obo by the Mongols of Outchimts'in and wrestling (on p. 109), attended by the author; also Owen Lattimore, *Mongol journeys*, 274, New York, Doubleday, 1941, with interesting description of the festivities attended by the chiefs of the Banners, etc.

[p. 114(B)]

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and the group then marched three times around the Obo. I heard the details of this unusual rite from Monguors who had attended the ceremony. 782 786

Just as women are not allowed to enter the temples of the spirits of the Obo, and are excluded from the rites performed at the top of the Obo in the sixth moon, they were also excluded from these rites of restoration of the forces of the spirit of the Sha-t'ang valley. It is for this reason that the Obo festivities, horse races, wrestling, in the sixth moon, are performed at the foot of the mountain, so that women can attend. When women encounter an Obo on their way, they always avoid passing in front of it—the "front" being usually the south or southeast. [562]

The mentality of the Monguors regarding the spirit of the Obo explains their reverence for them. A Monguor will always dismount from his horse when he passes an Obo. He will never fail to add some white stones to the heap, to cry at the top of his voice, honoring the spirit, to prostrate himself nine times, to throw some coins, some flour, a roll of bread on the stone heap, or to smear some butter on the offering table.[21]

It is not only the common people who act in this way. I saw the T'u-kuan Living Buddha, when passing the Obo of Sung-hua-ting, send some lamas ahead to perform the rite of Wei-sang.

CULT OF THE SACRED HILL OF THE VILLAGE

The cult of the sacred hill of the village is performed like the cult of the Obos. A small Obo is built on top of the hill, and a pole is erected. Under the pole is buried the "precious bottle" (urn), the specific offer to the earth god; ropes with flags are attached to the pole and spears planted in the stone heap piled around the pole. Obviously, the dimensions of this Obo are smaller than those of the Obos of the five mountain spirits, and perhaps because of this they are not called Obo, but the "sacred hill of the village."[22] 795 782

On New Year's each family sends a member to the sacred hill to enact the rite of Wei-sang and libation. On the fifteenth of the first moon the chiefs of the villages, with the elders and the inhabitants, officially go to the sacred hill, offering a sheep, performing Wei-sand, burying an urn, and making a libation. On the third of the fifth moon a similar group performs the same rites, in order to strengthen the vitality of the spirit of the sacred hill, which, according to the Monguors, must be in full strength in order to help avert hailstorms. Epidemics and epizootics are supposed to be caused by the outraged spirit of the sacred hill, which must be propitiated by a sheep offering and Wei-sang rite, performed by the whole village. [753]

Devout people go on the first and fifteenth of the month to perform Wei-sang and libation. Monguors

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[21] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 63.

[22] R. Rahmann, Remarks on the sacrifice of Heaven of the Na-khi, *Monumenta Serica* 13: 406 *sqq.*, 1948.

[p.115(B)]

4: Schram M-S (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

beat drums and play mandolins, all the younger wives and their husbands pursue each other, jumping over the fire heaps, merrymaking. No wives or husbands would miss this practice, for the tradition goes that it provides fecundity. However, the Yassa forbids jumping over the fire.[20]

Professor N. Poppe notes that among the Mongols the spirit of the fire is represented riding a he-goat, and that the he-goat is a symbol of fecundity, as Plano Carpini already noted.[21] This note of Professor Poppe evidences the existence of the fact that a relation existed between the fire god and fecundity in olden times. The Monguors seem not to know the existence of the god of the fire riding the he-goat, although they know that the hearth god secures fecundity. The hearth god also procures fecundity among the Buriats.[22]

FIRE AS THE PROTECTOR OF THE CHILDREN

The god of the hearth not only provides fecundity to the daughters-in-law, but it protects their children. On the second of the second moon is performed the rite of consecration of the children to the god of the hearth. In the very early morning, before boiling water for washing and making tea, the mother roasts some handfuls of spelt in the cauldron and after them some handfuls of peas. Husband and wife spread them devoutly in the courtyard in front of the door. Then the elders clip some hair from the foreheads of the children under thirteen years of age, and cut the nails on their fingers. Hair and nail parings are carefully put in a cup and covered with a red cloth. The cup is placed before the picture of the hearth god and a copper coin placed on top of it. All members of the family prostrate themselves nine times, holding incense sticks in their joined hands, and the incense sticks are then fixed before the picture of the hearth god. On the twenty-fourth of the twelfth moon, at the time the god starts its journey to Heaven, the contents of the cup are burned in the hearth, together with the picture of the god. The Monguors explain this as the yearly rite of consecration of the children to the hearth god.

CULT OF THE HEARTH GOD

Rite at the End of the Year

The most important rites in honor of the spirit of the hearth are performed at its departure for Heaven, and at its coming back from Heaven, for so important a benefactor must receive the highest honors possible, and the most affectionate greetings. This is true all over China. Men do not attend these rites.

The spirit of the hearth of the Chinese starts its journey to heaven on the twenty-third of the last moon of the year, on horseback or on a mule. The spirit of

[20] Schmidt, *op. cit.* 10: 73.

[21] Poppe, *op. cit.* 2: 135. See also n. 15, above, for Agni, the Hindu god, riding a ram.

[22] *Ibid.*, 301.

[p. 121(B)]

4: Schram M-S (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

the Monguors starts its journey in the same way on the twenty-fourth of the same moon. Before that day, all daughters-in-law on holiday at their mothers' have to be back, for the cult of the spirit is entrusted to the women. This rule is kept most rigidly.

At evening, after supper, the women don their makeup and put on their best dresses, while the children are clad in their New Year's dresses. Grandmother and the daughters-in-law and the children kneel before the image of the spirit, holding incense sticks in their joined hands. The grandmother presents and puts in front of the spirit a boiled chicken and twelve rolls of steamed bread, and kindles the oil lamp. Prostrations are made and paper is burned in the oven. Then the participants, sitting on the floor, chatting, recall the events of the whole year. When the lamp is nearly burned out, the offerings are removed. Some straw is spread in the oven, on which the picture of the spirit is placed. Twelve small bundles of hay, some peas (horses are fed with peas in the country), and three or four rolls are placed on the image, as well as the cup containing hair and nail parings of the children. The straw is kindled. The participants prostrate themselves and bow. The grandmother says: "Good deity, you know all that has happened in the family during the year; you know our deficiencies and shortcomings. Please do not tell about them when you arrive in Heaven, but rather, speak about our pitiable living conditions, our miseries, our afflictions, our poor cattle. Please come back soon. Do not linger in Heaven for too long a time, as we need you very much; we will wait for you on the thirtieth at midnight. Bring with you children for my daughters-in-law—boys are preferable to girls. Bring health for all of us; bring riches and wealth, and blessings for the cattle." If some member of the family becomes ill at that time, or if one of the daughters-in-law is childless, all these facts are entrusted to the spirit and put on its knees with confidence. The fire in the oven is extinguished, and the good spirit is on the way, enjoying his ride to Heaven.

This is one of the most intimate prayers the Monguors say in a group in the family. The same rite is performed among the Chinese in the same affectionate way and almost in the same terms, and it may be that the Monguors borrowed it from them.

The spirit of the hearth seems to be the envoy of Heaven, whose duty appears to be the supervision of the doings of the families. It seems to be very potent, for it is able to obtain in Heaven all kinds of blessings in behalf of its protégés.

The next day the wall is whitewashed and the kitchen is cleansed. On the thirtieth, at evening, a new image is pasted on the wall, in front of which is placed a chicken, four rolls, a lamp and incense sticks. At midnight, after the fire is worshipped in the courtyard, Heaven and all the spirits are honored on the roof, and the guardian deity in the living room. The family pros-

795 562 354 776 782

[5.122(A)]

4: Schram M-S (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

trates itself before the spirit of the hearth, congratulates it, and is happy, for the spirit is supposed to have come back at that very moment with a load of blessings. In the early morning the elders will honor it also. 795 562 354 776

Several times I asked the Monguors whom the spirit of the hearth was going to see in Heaven. The answer was always: "Our women claim, as do the Chinese, that the hearth god is going to see 'Old Father Heaven.' It is true that the spirits are everywhere, and the women know it; but on that night they say the same thing that the Chinese say." 782

Rites During the Year

Every time women prepare food, the first bowl is always offered devoutly to the hearth god. 782

On the fifth of the fifth moon, steamed rolls, shaped like flowers, are offered to the spirit of the hearth, and willow boughs adorn its image. Nobody could explain the connection between the willow and the spirit of the hearth. (Is it a Chinese custom?)

It has been noted above that steamed rolls, prepared with the flour of the spelt of the new harvest, and a lamp kindled with the new oil of the year, are offered to the spirit of the hearth. On the fifteenth of the eighth moon, rolls and a chicken are offered to the spirit of the hearth. On the eighth of the last moon of the year, a piece of ice is put before it. (Is this a Chinese custom?)

If a member of the family has been smitten with a severe disease, old people claim that the spirit of the hearth is angry and taking in ill grace the uncleanliness of the women for having let milk drip in the fire, or for having poured water on it and on the ashes, or for poking the fire with an iron rod. In that event, rolls, wine, and chicken are offered and prostrations are made. Sometimes a sheep is offered, and a lama is invited to pray in propitiation before the image of the spirit of the hearth.

When eyes are sore, or when there is trouble with scalp and hair, the spirit of the hearth has to play physician. Before the image, a red-hot stone is put in a pot of water in which aromatic leaves of wild mint are boiled. The sick man, after prostrating himself, bows over the pot and is steamed by the vapors and healed. The same rite is used to purify the sacred animal at New Year's.

It is noteworthy that the shaman is never invited by the Monguors to honor the fire or the spirit of the hearth, although once in a while a lama is invited to perform a propitiating rite. That department, like that of the sacred animal, seems to be foreign to them.

IMAGE OF THE HEARTH GOD

The old Monguors are accustomed to paste on the wall a sheet of white paper. In the middle of the paper is pasted vertically a short but wide yellow paper ribbon, under which is pasted, horizontally, a large red-fringed paper ribbon, said to be the skirt of the spirit. 776 354 372 562

[p. 122 (8)]

4: Schram M-S (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

On both sides of the red skirt are pasted two small yellow ribbons, said to represent the handkerchiefs of the spirit. On the upper part of the sheet of paper is pasted, horizontally, a large red, fringed strip of paper.

The skirt and the handkerchiefs are items belonging to women's dress, and consequently the spirit is supposed to be a female spirit. Some Monguors, when the whole primitive representation is finished, write on the yellow ribbon in the center: "Lord of the Hearth." Many Monguors no longer use this old representation of the spirit of the hearth, but instead, they buy a Chinese picture. After a few years it will be hard to find out to which sex their hearth god belonged.

According to the interesting study of Professor N. Poppe, based only on old fire prayers and hymns, the god of the fire among the Mongols is a female god, called "mother of the hearth," "mother of the fire," etc., but also "king of the fire," and even "mother king of the fire." The god of the fire possesses a big family consisting of seven girls and five boys and many servants. It is not clear why prayers and hymns are sung once for the king of the fire, and once for the lady.[23]

Among the Mongols, as among the Monguors, the most important act of honoring the god of the hearth takes place on the last days of the year. In the hymns, all kind of blessings are implored from the god of the hearth, who seems omnipotent.[24]

The Tibetans, from the oldest times on, also had their "god of the hearth" and their "queen hearth god." Both were very touchy concerning the smallest impurities thrown into the fire; a trifle could upset them.[25]

Among the Tungus, the spirit of the fire is an old woman, who stays in the fire of the family; fire is to be revered.[26]

It is interesting to record that, among the Chinese also, the sex of the god of the hearth is not definitely fixed. Father Doré, studying twenty-nine sources related to the subject, notes that eight describe it as female, while a few assert that the spirit is not a single person, but a real couple, husband and wife. The remainder claim the masculine sex for their spirit.[27]

In old China,

Chieh was the spirit of the hearth, wearing red clothes and having the appearance of a beautiful woman. [*Chieh* means chignon.] It is strange that the spirit of the hearth has a female appearance. Confucius is reported to have said that the cult of the hearth is a cult of old ladies. There is a difference between the spirits of the hearth and of the fire: the last one is a male spirit, and the first a female, which is assimilated with the first woman cook.[28]

[23] N. Poppe, Zum Feuer Kultus bei den Mongolen, *Asia Major* 2: 133, 1925.

[24] *Ibid.*, 140.

[25] Hoffman, *op. cit.*, 169.

[26] Shirokogoroff, *op. cit.*, 128.

[27] H. Doré, *Recherches sur les superstitions en Chine*, Part 2, 2: 901, Shanghai, Sikawei. See also *Li-ki*, Couvreur, 1: 554. Ho Kien fu, 1899, Mission Catholique.

[28] M. Granet, *Danses et legendes de la Chine ancienne*, 308, Paris, Alcan, 1926.

[p. 123(A)]

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The bewilderment concerning the sex of the god of the hearth and its social position is astonishing. Sometimes the god seems to be a married couple, sometimes a single female, or a single male. The traditional picture made by the Monguor women themselves offers a definite solution concerning the sex of "their" hearth god. The traditions concerning the fecundity attached to it seem connected with the Mongol king of the fire riding a he-goat, nothwithstanding that the Monguors are unable to give any reason for this connection, and do not know anything about the existence of this he-goat rider. Maybe the solution of the puzzle is to be sought in the suggestion of Granet, that two spirits are involved, the spirit of the fire which is a male, and the god of the hearth which is a female.

OFFERING TO HEAVEN AND ALL THE SPIRITS

THE FAMILY OFFERING AFTER THE HARVEST

After the spelt is cut, some sheaves are immediately carried home and threshed. The grain is ground on the stone, which is cleansed carefully. The women steam thirteen rolls of bread made with the newly ground flour. All members of the family climb on top of the roof in their best dresses and kneel, holding incense sticks in their joined hands. The chief of the family lifts up to Heaven the salver with the thirteen steaming rolls and shouts three times, at the top of his voice, the usual "*Mtchioo*" and "Heaven and all the spirits." The whole family prostrates itself thankfully for the new harvest. Crumbs of bread are thrown to the four points of the compass. The Monguors say that the crumbs must be thrown in this way in order to feed the roaming, hungry, malignant spirits of the deceased, who always are on the prowl to harm the people.

The family comes down and offers the same rolls to the guardian spirit of the family, and to the spirit of the hearth, and then the whole family eats the rolls steamed with the new flour of the year.

In autumn, when linseed and colza seed are cut and the new oil is pressed, the same rite is performed with the new oil. A lamp with the new oil is kindled on the roof of the house with the usual prostrations and shoutings, another is kindled for the guardian spirit of the family, and another for the spirit of the hearth. The Tibetans in the country perform the same rite and the Chinese do also, but the Chinese thank only the "Old Father Heaven" and not "Heaven and all the spirits."

THE OFFERING OF THE SHEEP

It has been noted above that whenever a sheep is offered to a deity in the family, first of all a piece of the skin of the forehead is cut and thrown in the court yard for "Heaven" separately, with shouts of "Heaven" and no more; that a second piece is cut and thrown in the same way, with a shout of "all the spirits," and that

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Om Mani. The rite may last for two or three hours, during which time two servings of tea are drunk. After the rite is finished, noodles are offered to the assembly. It is really edifying to see the courtyard crowded with people, kneeling and squatting close together, and to hear them repeat in unison, slowly and with devotion, after the cavernous voice of the lama, innumerable monotone Om Manis. One feels at that time that the Monguors are a religious people.

The custom of gathering at night to pray for the deceased seems to have been practiced by nomads long before Lamaism was born. Parker, dealing with the funeral rites of the Hsien-pi as translated from the Chinese annals notes: "On the day of the funeral the relatives and the intimates assemble at night time and sit in a circle; two men pronounce an incantation so that the soul may pass unmolested by the Ghouls to the red mountains." This fact is noted as having existed before our era, two thousand years ago. It is interesting to encounter at the same time of night a similar religious rite for the same purpose among the Monguors, who were formerly nomads. It is said by them that they are very fond of the rite.[34]

CREMATION [35]

During the six days preceding the cremation, three lamas (rich people invite five or seven) pray for the dead in a private room. On the sixth day a minor Living Buddha arrives with a couple of lama assistants. At night, after the departure of the guests, the lamas drive out the souls of the dead in the usual way, and throw the nefarious *torma* on a crossroad; the neighbors cry and shoot rifles. In the very early morning, the lamas pray before the corpse; beating drums and ringing bells, so that the awakened neighbors soon arrive. Tea is drunk, lamentations are made, and the sedan chair is carried at a fast pace to the place of cremation. It is not permitted to rest on the way, or to put down the sedan chair, lest the spirit of that spot be injured. At the moment of departure, the lamas adjure the souls not to come back.

Only among a few groups of Monguors are women, the daughters of the deceased, allowed to follow the cortege lamenting, supported and steadied by other women. Arriving at the spot they are invited to go back home; they receive a piece of cloth, a pair of trousers, and a gown in order to return easily. On a spot indicated by a Red lama or a Taoist priest the neighbors have built, the day before, a rudimentary oven which has an opening on each of the four sides. The master of ceremonies for the last time adjures the dead not to come back or to harm the family. The corpse is put in a caldron in the oven. The wood of the sedan chair, broken into pieces, is put in the oven. A lama strikes fire with a flint and lights the oven. Twenty

[34] Parker, *op. cit.*, 86.
[35] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 42.

N *563 M 592 554 has the privilege of naming his own children and grandchildren. When a granddaughter is to be married, the grandfather usually consults her father before taking any action.

B. Marriage and Divorce Customs

N *563 M 581 562 [769] [171] Among the Mongours marriage is considered not as an optional part, but as an extremely necessary part of life. Because of the veneration of ancestors, as with their Chinese neighbors, the Mongours regard male children as a necessity for carrying on the ancestral cult. Ummarried sons, or childless sons are considered a calamity. The poorest families will even sell part of their livestock and land or go into debt to get a bride for their son.

N *563 M 584 583 582 Marriages usually are arranged by a go-between, frequently the maternal uncle of the boy. The brideprice is subject to considerable negotiations between the two families. The girl chosen usually is two years older than the boy. The acceptable marriage age for boys is between 14-16.

Clan exogamy is observed among the Mongours. There is absolute prohibition against marriage within the clan. The rule is N *563 M 614 582 565 sometimes overlooked by the commoners, but it is strictly observed among the nobles. Among the commoners, intermarriage with Tibetans and Chinese has contributed considerably to the weakening of this rule. In such instances, the clan itself is regarded as not being purely preserved. There is a feeling that it has been penetrated by foreign elements, and therefore the exogamy rules need not be observed as strictly.

N *563 M 582 Exogamy rules out marriage between children of brothers, but does not exclude marriage between the children of a brother and a sister, because the offspring of the latter belongs to a different clan.

M [587] A widowed wife, if living in the setting of the extended family, usually becomes the second wife of a brother of her late husband. However, if the brothers have already divided their inheritance and are living separately, she is free to remarry whomever she wants.

N *563 M 588 Two exceptional kinds of marriage, probably borrowed from the Tibetans, were noted by Schram. One is that of "marriage to the door post," whereby a girl remains in her family and clan, but takes lovers and bears children. Her children have her patrilineal clan name, remain within the family, and are treated as members of the patrilineal clan. The other is "marriage to the belt." A girl, unmarried and living with her own family, has relations with a guest, who leaves his belt, to which she may be "married" if she becomes pregnant.

N *563 M 604 The relationship between two families connected by marriage is maintained primarily by the maternal uncle. While not being part of his married sister's new family, he has a powerful influence

/The Monguors/

N *563 of the k'ang. In the presence of the grandfather, the daughters-in-law may not sit, even on the floor.

M 576 The Mongours regard it as an insult to the T'u-ssu to open a conversation or keep one's hat on in his presence. It is considered a mark of respect to remove the hat while visiting with [264] [603] a person of position or rank.

[554] The Mongours use the same term in addressing members of [561] the same generation, with a differentiation according to sex. Older persons are addressed as "big," younger ones as "little."

M [574] It is disrespectful to present a cracked bowl to a guest. The same bowl is used for serving both food and tea, and it must always be filled to the brim. One never presents the bowl with one hand, although when pouring tea, one may hold the pot in the right hand.

One is not allowed to step over a person who is lying down.

Father and daughter must always keep some distance apart. A married woman may remove her hat when visiting in her own mother's home, but she must always have her head decorated and wear a long gown or skirt in the presence of her parents-in-law or their guests.

N *563 i. Celebrations and festivals

M 614 796 Feasting and celebration usually follow the rites of ancestor worship. A large tent is pitched on the open ground below the cemetery, and here the T'u-ssu sits among the nobles, elders and other prominent men of the clan to receive pledges of renewed allegiance from his subjects. As a master of ceremonies shouts directions, the chief and elders of each village, garbed in there ceremonial robes, come up in turn to pay homage to their T'u-ssu. Then a dinner is spread for the T'u-ssu and the

N *563 prominent members of the clan. Some sit in the tent, some outside on felt rugs at small tables. A whole sheep is presented to

M 614 527 the T'u-ssu, then divided among all present. Wine is drunk, and the festive spirit mounts. Girls dance and sing; lamas from the monasteries wrestle; youngsters race on unsaddled horses. It 273 is a great day for all, but it seldom ends without quarreling and fighting. Under the rising influence of liquor, clothes are torn, heads banged and bones broken. According to tradition, no damage suits may be brought for loss or injuries incurred on this day.

N *563 Boys are preferred to girls in Mongour society. The festival at the birth of the first son and the selection of his name is par-

M 562 ticularly important. The Mongours consider the lack of a son as punishment for sins of the parents in some previous incarnation. [558] The sonless woman lives a miserable life, as she has no status [852] in the family or in society. A sonless couple will hire lamas to [782] pray for them, and vow to make long pilgrimages or give alms [852] lavishly if only they are granted a son. Thus the birth of the

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N *563 M • 562 852 [553] first son is an occasion for great rejoicing. Various rituals are performed in connection with the name-giving, and the announcement of the birth to the grandparents on both sides. Everyone in the village is invited to a party, and relatives and friends bring gifts for the baby.

M [203] [604] [603] [553] The birth of daughters and younger sons requires less elaborate celebration. Invitations are sent to the child's maternal uncles to be present at the name-giving ceremony, which is performed by the grandfather. It is thought that a woman's brothers have a powerful influence over the family into which her child is born, and therefore they must be notified properly.

M [184] Poor families also celebrate the birth of the first son, although the ceremonies are less elaborate. If the family cannot afford the expense of a feast, rich people of the village often help them. It is not right to allow the birth of a first son to go uncelebrated, for he is the new link in the ancestral chain, and it is he who will grow up to make the sacrifices to the clan ancestor, an important concern to the Mongours.

N *563 M 302 [593] [888] j. Beard-growing

A man may start to grow a beard on the first day of the first or second moon of the new year after his thirtieth birthday, but only if his parents are dead. He must not grow a beard while his parents are alive, as it would remind his parents of their advanced age and approaching death.

k. Wedding, funeral and grave

N *563 M 764 [191] [199] The customs surrounding weddings, funerals and the construction of graves are almost the same among the Mongours as those practiced in traditional China. Their burial, however, is unique. Under the influence of Lama Buddhism, it has become the general custom of the Mongours to cremate their dead. The funeral rites are carried out by lamas. In the olden days, however, the T'u-ssu and the nobles were always buried.

4. Popular beliefs

N *563 M 843 562 Because of the importance of having a son, the pregnant woman is full of hopeful expectation. Everyone in the village knows about the coming event, and is interested in the sex of the child. It is believed that a male child lies on the left side of the womb, a female child on the right. The pregnant woman is watched carefully when she enters a doorway. If she steps over the threshold with her right foot, she is thought to be carrying a boy; if with her left foot, a girl. The logic behind this notion is that a boy makes the left side heavier than the right, so the mother will instinctively raise her right foot to make a step upward.

N *563 M 553 789 If several children in a family have died in infancy, the head of a family blessed with many children will be invited to name a newborn child, in the hope that some of his good luck may pass on the luckless family.

N *563 M 439 [438] [543] [437]

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tion for her hospitality. Larger scale selling and buying are done at fairs held two or three times a year.

Occasionally an ambitious young Mongour will go into the business of long-distance caravan trade with the Tibetans. He will deal largely in mules and saddle girths woven with white wool, which can be sold readily in Tibet, and bring back wool serge cloth dyed red or purple, or white with red or blue stripes. A heavy fabric, it sheds water, and is highly valued by the Mongours. He will also bring back Tibetan incense, dates and so forth to sell to the Chinese.

N *563 M 461

6. Work and leisure

The traditional life of pastoral nomads is rather free and lazy except at the times of seasonal migration. Descendants of nomads, the Mongours still prefer to enjoy long periods of comparative idleness alternating with short periods of intense activity. In their agricultural economy, however, the Mongour men are unable to be quite so indolent as pastoral nomads.

N *563 M 462

In the farming communities, both men and women work in the fields. The men do the heavy preparatory work, plowing and harrowing; the women help with sowing and weeding, as well as with reaping the harvest and carrying the grains to the threshing floor. Women do the threshing. Like their Mongol sisters, they do the housework and care for the animals. Married women work under the supervision of the oldest, usually the mother-in-law.

N *563 M 562 M [574] M [437] [533]

Although their status is inferior, the Mongour women accept it without resentment. Their outlook is conditioned by their milieu. They know what is expected of them, and behave accordingly. Though bound by strict rules of etiquette, they are entirely free to associate with men, to sing and dance in public, and to enjoy themselves. They delight in attending the big festivals at the lamaseries and the annual assembly of the clan, where they meet their friends and visit, and also show off their fancy costumes and headdress. They love to shop at the fairs, and bargain over goods. Both men and women love to sing. During the long, tedious hours of weeding the fields, men and women sing in unison.

N *563 101

G. The Tibetans

1. The people

Hsi-fan is a name applied by the Chinese to the Amdo Tibetans, and to all other non-Chinese tribesmen from Sung-p'an to Hsi-ning. It means Western Barbarians. Some European scholars have maintained that the Hsi-fan are not Tibetans, and suggest that they represent a northern branch of one of the non-Chinese peoples of southwest China, like the Lolo or Moso.

N *563 199

Granting that there is no such thing as a homogenous Tibetan